



The Workers' Party
of
Ethiopia

PROGRAMME

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of
Ethiopia

PROGRAMME

**Endorsed by the Founding Congress
of the
Workers' Party of Ethiopia**

**September 1984
Addis Ababa**

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INTRODUCTION

Ethiopia, a country with a long historical heritage, languished in the period before the Revolution under the cumbersome yoke of oppression and exploitation by an extremely backward feudal system and by neo-colonialism. The Revolution which erupted in February, 1974 is the outcome of the struggle waged by the Ethiopian broad masses throughout the ages in an endeavour to extricate themselves from this deplorable condition.

In its advance along the path of democracy in the course of the last ten years, our Revolution has not only registered significant victories, but has also created suitable conditions for the laying down of a firm foundation for the construction of socialism. The realization of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE), in particular, has opened up a new chapter wherefrom we can confidently march toward our ultimate goal.

The Programme, adopted by the Founding Congress of the WPE, basing itself upon an assessment of the revolutionary tasks accomplished over the last ten years through which the Revolution has passed, and the experiences of other countries in the building of a new democratic system and in socialist construction, sets new goals and lays out new tasks. The Programme clearly outlines the goal that the WPE has set and the procedures it has formulated in order to bring to realization the People's Democratic Ethiopia by completing the National Democratic Revolution and laying down the basis for socialism by adhering to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Ethiopia is a country in which feudalism had firmly entrenched itself for centuries and remained the predominant feature of the country's economic, social and political system until the inception of our Revolution. All through that long period, the broad masses, in addition to the oppression and exploitation perpetrated against them by this system, were at the mercy of the ravages of war and hunger. Nevertheless, the hitsorical legacy

and cultural heritage accumulated in the course of this very same period still holds a place of immense significance.

Ethiopia's geographical location being adjacent, on the one hand, to the Red Sea area, which has since ancient times been a centre of civilization and a trading link between three continents and, on the other hand, to the strategic Nile valley, has given it a special place in history.

This, in turn, has contributed to the foundation of the country's material and spiritual development which led to the flourishing of the ancient Axumite civilization. The Axumite civilization which flourished on Ethiopia's extensive involvement at the time in the trading activities along the Red Sea which contributed to the development of civilization in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Europe, holds a place of honour in the history of the peoples of the world. It was during the era of the Axumite civilization, i.e. from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D., that the slave-owning system gained consolidation, feudalism emerged, and a high level of social development attained in the region.

There are various concrete historical evidences, including impressive stone monuments and inscriptions which still stand today, that indicate the level of development the Axumite civilization had reached in the sphere of trade, administration, military organization, technology and culture.

Like all other ancient civilizations, the Axumite civilization also declined after some time and weakened especially after the seventh century. The major cause for this decline was the intensification of the internal contradictions of the slave-owning system but, it was also accelerated by other external factors. In this regard, South Arabian expansionism, which rose by wielding Islam as its instrument, exerted the greatest influence. This expansionist movement, which resulted in the military occupation of the Middle East, the whole of Northern Africa and Western Asia within a brief span of time, also isolated the

Axumite civilization from international trade and communication. Even though Ethiopia did not suffer from the Jihad like the other countries in the region, its Axumite civilization declined. Later on, Ethiopia's naval supremacy in the region came to an end and the country's dominance was confined to the hinterlands. Land, which forms the foundation of the feudal system, replaced trade as the basis of all relations. It was from this time onwards that the feudal system, which prevailed in Ethiopia for about one thousand years and was characterized by extreme backwardness due to its isolation, assumed supremacy in the country.

Regional tribal and religious fanaticism were some of the major features of the feudal era. Moreover, officers and soldiers gradually converted the land granted to them by the state into *rist* holdings and became disloyal to the central government. In general, the absence of a strong central government which characterizes the early stage of the development of feudalism, and consequently the absolute power of princes and barons in their respective domains became clearly discernible in the country. Hence, one feudal ruler defied another or one rose to subdue the other and the resultant wars were the cause of much misery for the peasantry in particular. The peasantry fed the flame of the wars carried out by the feudal princes and kings. Moreover, since feudal armies did not carry their own supplies, they emptied the barns and drove the cattle of the peasantry wherever they went. Most of all, however, peaceful work was disrupted and valuable time wasted as a consequence of the persistent war; and the peasantry suffered immensely from famine and other pestilences.

The fundamental cause for the internecine wars which persisted throughout the long history of the feudal era was the struggle and competition for the control of land, taxation and trade; in general it was a competition for economic dominance. At times, religion was used as a cover for the rivalries and wars which were essentially rooted in the

struggle for economic dominance. Where the central government grew weak, feudal lords, emirs and sultans tried to consolidate their power in the various regions. On the other hand, whenever the kings mustered greater strength, they exerted military force and took the upper hand. In addition, the political situation became very unstable, especially between the latter part of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth century, because regional princes each endeavoured to attain supremacy over the others. It is not difficult to imagine the extent to which the people were subjected to misery and suffering in the course of all these vicissitudes.

Over and above the fact that the broad masses of Ethiopia were subjected to unprecedented suffering by the feudal ruling class, they were also targets of colonialism and were victimized by the external powers which rose against them at various times. Nevertheless, undaunted by these internal problems, they were able to defeat the invaders and expansionists who rose at various times, and maintained their national independence.

It is known that colonialism focused on Ethiopia from the sixteenth century, when capitalism started its early development in Western Ethiopia. Portugal, the foremost maritime power in Europe at the time, and the Turkish Ottoman Empire, which dominated the inland trade in the Middle East, both endeavoured to occupy Ethiopia and competed to control the Red Sea littoral. Using religion as a cover, Portugal assisted the kings while Turkey gave support to the emirs and sultans and in this way they both attempted to control the whole of Ethiopia. Nevertheless, their endeavours were rendered futile and their aspirations remained unfulfilled.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, when capitalism reached its monopoly stage and imperialists rose to carve up the world, Ethiopia again became one of their targets. Since the opening of the Suez Canal in particular increased the strategic significance of the Red Sea, Ethiopia attracted great attention as the most fertile country in the region. Moreover, the fact that it had for long been weakened by the inter-

necine wars during the Era of Princes rendered it more vulnerable to imperialist assault. By taking advantage of the situation, the Italian colonialists tried to penetrate into the country through Massawa around the end of the nineteenth century; but their attempt failed when the Ethiopian army defeated them at Dogali and scored a resounding victory. Nevertheless, when the Mahdists invaded Wetsern Ethiopia and Ethiopia's forces shifted their concentration to that region, the Italians succeeded in getting a foothold on the Red Sea coast. They gave the name "Eritrea" to the part of our country which they colonized and, by consolidating their forces, tried to extend their colonial hold onto the rest of the country. This subsequently led to the Battle of Adowa on March 2, 1896 in which the peasant army of Ethiopia annihilated the Italian army which was equipped with modern weapons. This resounding victory has given Ethiopia a foremost place in the history of the anti-colonialist struggle in Africa and Asia.

The Italian colonialists, however, could not draw lessons from their defeat and humiliation at Adowa and did not relinquish their aspiration to control the whole of Ethiopia. When fascism held sway in the world, they made extensive military preparations and once again invaded our country in 1935, forty years after the Battle of Adowa. The feudal state in Ethiopia had not in the mean time, attained any significant progress in terms of its military organization and methods of warfare. Moreover, the fascists rained large quantities of bombs and poisonous gases from aeroplanes and used all the forces they could muster and committed atrocities against the broad Ethiopian masses which history shall never forget.

Even though Emperor Haile Selassie, the princes and aristocrats who claimed to be their "leaders" deserted them and fled the country in those trying times, the broad Ethiopian masses did not bow to the fascists and staunchly fought for their freedom. Their heroic sons and daughters, in particular took to the jungles and pressed hard upon the enemy in guerilla warfare.

After five years of struggle, the Ethiopian masses defeated the fascists and restored the country's independence on April 6, 1941.

Even though the Ethiopian broad masses emerged victorious over the fascists, the Emperor, the princes and aristocrats returned after victory through the assistance of British imperialism and, once again, imposed on the people the yoke of oppression and exploitation. Apart from strengthening the feudal rule in most parts of the country, the British put Eritrea under their control. Nevertheless, Eritrea was wrested out of their hands and was reunited with the rest of Ethiopia after some time through the struggle of the broad masses. However, as the feudal state soon embraced the United States neo-colonialists, who replaced the British, Ethiopia could not be completely free from the influence of imperialism.

Beside scrambling for the spoils which the Italian Fascists had left behind upon their defeat, the Emperor and his followers, relying on the imperialists, intensified their oppression and exploitation of the masses of the people. At the same time, popular revolts intensified. Patriots who had fought staunchly in the five-year long anti-fascist struggle, in particular, made attempts to overthrow the monarchic rule while other progressive-minded elements even aspired to set up a republic. Yet, their struggle did not bear fruit, because it lacked a strong social base. As the Emperor was closely allied with the imperialists through the bond of an interlocking common interest, he was able to weaken the opponents who rose against him at various times and maintain his autocratic rule.

The broad masses were deprived of their rights and lived under very backward circumstances, suffering from hunger, destitution and disease and sweating to satisfy the limitless and luxurious needs of their masters. Their life was even more bitter, for on top of the heavy yoke of feudalism was added the exploitation by foreign capital. When the situation became further aggravated, the people were forced to rise in revolt to regain their rights. Accordingly, the struggle which

had been going on since early times between the exploiters and the exploited, between the oppressors and the oppressed now reached a level of great intensity. Peasants, workers, and progressive sections of the society, on the one hand, and feudalists, capitalists and other cohorts of imperialism, on the other hand, carried out fierce struggles. In general, this was the situation that prevailed in Ethiopia between the defeat of the Fascists in 1941 and the inception of our Revolution in February, 1974.

The road along which the democratic forces marched until the outbreak of the Revolution was indeed very long and replete with ups and downs. In many parts of the country, the peasantry revolted against the feudalists and waged extensive struggles. Nevertheless, their movement remained futile because in some regions it fell under the influence of feudalists who had contradictions with the central feudal state, and in others, it was derailed by narrow nationalist conspiracies. Moreover, it was made to take the form of a secessionist movement in some regions through the vile plots of imperialism and reaction, as a result of which it lost the support of the broad masses and crumbled easily.

Even though the working class has scored worthy victories in the struggle it has waged ever since it emerged in our country, the path towards the shouldering of its historic mission has not been easy. In general, suitable conditions were first created for the struggle of the working class in the small production and service enterprises which the Italian colonialists set up in the administrative region of Eritrea and as a result of the construction of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway line.

Upon the outbreak of the Revolution, the share of industry in the gross national product was only 15%; and in this situation the size of the working class was inevitably very small and its experience in struggle very limited. Nevertheless, as it was forced to expend its labour for long working hours at exceedingly low wages and was subjected to limitless exploitation, and as it had no security whatsoever, the working class had no alternative but to fight relentlessly in order to win

its rights. Consequently, it focused its attention primarily on organization, so as to muster its forces and, coordinating its ranks under mutual assistance organizations in various places, struggled against the employers and the reactionary government. As a result of these struggles and the pressure exerted upon the reactionary government by the anti-colonialist and liberation struggles that were intensifying on the African continent at the time, the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (CELU) was established. Nevertheless, the reactionary government resorted to various subtle manoeuvres to control the leadership of the Labour Union and also tied it up with agencies of United States imperialism. In spite of this, the working class continued to conduct strikes and to take other protest measures against the feudal order.

One sector of the society which actively participated in the struggle of the masses was the intelligentsia. Even though this sector emerged in the country at the turn of the century, it developed especially in the post-Fascist era when educational opportunities were opened with the neo-colonialist aim of training the children of the ruling classes to man the new bureaucracy. When the children of the broad masses gradually found educational opportunities, the problems of the people started to be discussed among intellectuals and students. In another line of development those who went abroad for their studies and observed developed societies for themselves grew to resent the backwardness of their country; they learnt about liberation movements and specially became acquainted with socialist ideology. All these factors inspired the intellectuals and students and aroused in them a desire for struggle. Accordingly, the intellectuals and students organized themselves and made significant contributions to the struggle of the broad masses. Yet, among students in particular, there were many who, due to their low level of consciousness, considered the student unions as a vanguard party and blindly supported all movements which opposed the monarchic rule. This created serious problems later, especially with regard to the question of creating the vanguard party of the working people.

Nevertheless, the intelligentsia and students have made significant contributions in the struggle in pre-revolution times by rallying around the slogan, "Land to the Tiller!" and agitating the society.

It is to be remembered that our Revolution broke out in the absence of a political organization that was capable of providing vanguard leadership. Nevertheless, the revolutionary democratic elements among the men-in-uniform assumed leadership and enabled the struggle of the masses of the people not to digress from its line. How the men-in-uniform came to shoulder this historic responsibility is explained by their past history.

A modern regular army was first established in our country in the late 1920's and started to be consolidated a little before the Italian invasion, and then after the defeat of the Fascists. Though the commanding posts in the army were at the time held by officers who were loyal to the Emperor, peasants who had been driven from their land, workers who had lost their jobs, and students who did not have any support to continue their education joined the army in large numbers. And, gradually, when the military apparatus and, especially its command, required for special knowledge and skill, educated individuals also joined the ranks of the men-in-uniform.

In the armed forces, there was a wide social gap between the commanding officers who came from among the members of the ruling class, and the rank and file who comprised the majority. While the junior officers and the rank and file defended the borders of their Motherland under a variety of difficult circumstances, the senior officers wallowed in a life of luxury as members of the ruling class. Apart from the fact that the rank and file in the army were subjected to misery and mistreated so that the superior officers would live in luxury, they were able to see the miserable life of the broad masses wherever they were sent on missions; thus above and beyond their original class background, they directly shared the misery and suffering of the broad masses.

In general, as outlined earlier, the intensification of the contradiction between the conflicting social forces in the country aroused the ranks of the broad masses into revolt; and it was possible for the Revolution to break out in February 1974, as the feudal rulers were no longer able to control the situation.

Even though the period was one during which imperialism and reaction were experiencing severe crises, they did not refrain from attempting to nip our Revolution in the bud, in the frenzy of their anti-progress and anti-peace activities. They challenged us fiercely by giving enormous assistance to internal counter-revolutionary forces and external invaders. They forced us to pay immense sacrifices in blood, life and property. Nevertheless, through the relentless struggle waged by revolutionaries, genuine patriots and the broad masses in general, under the correct leadership of the Revolutionary Government, and through the support and assistance of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and revolutionary forces who stood on our side, we were able to emerge victorious.

Having in this manner established its superemacy, the Revolution continued taking radical measures while at the same time endeavouring to withstand the conspiracies of imperialism and its cohorts and succeeded in completely demolishing the foundation of feudalism, in dismantling the major networks of imperialist influence and advanced on the democratic path. In the course of the last ten years of intense class struggle through which it has traversed, the Revolution has registered significant victories in the ideological, political, economic, social and military spheres and has laid down an unshakable foundation for the National Democratic Revolution. Moreover, the material and spiritual preconditions for the realization of socialism are being prepared.

In addition to the fact that our Revolution has taken deep roots on the national level and manifested highly significant development, its relations with the world socialist system, the international working class movement, the national liberation

movements and the forces of peace have been consistently strengthened. Nevertheless, since imperialism's crisis has become further aggravated and its militarist tendencies reached a seriously alarming stage, the situation prevailing in the world does not permit relaxation. This being the case, our Revolution attaches great importance to consolidating its unity and solidarity in various forms with the forces of peace and progress.

Today, the Ethiopian Revolution finds itself in an ever more impregnable situation wherein, guided by Marxism-Leninism, it can practically accomplish its national objectives and effectively discharge its international obligations. This is so, specially now that it has attained the decisive party leadership which it had lacked for long.

PART ONE

COMPLETING THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND LAYING DOWN THE FOUNDATION FOR SOCIALISM

The working class, the peasantry, intellectuals, students and men-in-uniform constitute the most active anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces of the Ethiopian Revolution. On the other side, while the feudalists fully oppose the Revolution, the bourgeoisie who wished the Revolution to remain confined to an anti-feudal stand alone, and the bureaucrats who stand for the capitalist path of development, resented the advancement of the popular struggle. The petty-bourgeoisie who own small property, initially stood alongside the revolutionary forces. But when the Revolution consistently deepened, portions of the petty-bourgeoisie became suspicious and withdrew their support for the Revolution, while some joined hands with counter-revolutionary forces.

In general, while the alignment of class forces at the national level upon the inception and during the subsequent advance of the Revolution took on the features briefly indicated above, the international situation as it prevailed at the time also exerted tremendous influences. On the one hand, it was a time when the world socialist system had consolidated itself and its role assumed great breadth: the international communist and working class movement had attained strength, national liberation movements were consistently crowned with victory and the policy of international detente had gained widespread acceptance. On the other hand, it was a time when capitalism was immersed in severe crises, and US imperialism suffered defeat, especially in Vietnam. It was also time when it was categorically proved that colonialism had outlived itself, and the Portuguese colonies in Africa attained their independence. It was in the context of these international conditions that the Ethiopian

Revolution overthrew the most oppressive monarchic rule and took successive democratic measures.

In the time since the broad masses of Ethiopia embarked on their correctly chosen path of development, they have scored numerous concrete victories. Taken individually or collectively, these victories not only demonstrate clearly that fundamental changes have taken place in the socio-economic structure and political life of Ethiopian society, but also prove that the changes in the material life of the working people constitute a reliable foundation for the acceleration of social progress. Although these victories, scored with sacrifices in many fields, should not be considered as ends in themselves when viewed in the context of the ultimate objectives of the Revolution, they are nevertheless, springboards for the further progress of the Revolution to higher stages.

In line with its firm anti-feudal and anti-imperialist stand, the Revolution has overthrown the age-old monarchical rule and, thereby, opened a new chapter of progress. Our glorious Revolution, continuing its victorious advance, is marching forward by deepening the changes obtained in various fields and creating conditions favourable for socialist construction.

The strategic objective of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia is the realization of socialism, and ultimately of communism. The broad masses and revolutionaries have, through determined struggle, accomplished tasks of decisive importance for the realization of this objective. Nevertheless, since the building of socialism requires a certain material base, redoubled efforts should be made to make conditions favourable for the creation of this base.

To complete the National Democratic Revolution and to carry out socialist construction successfully, our struggle must give due attention to deepening the victories thus far scored and to the initiation of new measures for progress. Consequently, the new objective and subjective conditions to be created should be

such as would ensure that socialism in Ethiopia will be built on a secure and unshakeable base.

While the interrelation between the past, present and future demonstrates the share of each phase in a continuing process of development, the tasks of the final phase have a decisive role in bringing about qualitative changes. The validity of any assessment of the victories so far scored is measured against an evaluation of the impact they would have on the achievement of the strategic objective of the Revolution. Therefore, the changes made and the results obtained either individually or collectively, should not be viewed as ends in themselves; on the contrary, they should be regarded as expressions of the victory of the working people and as paving the way for socialist construction. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that plans for future progress take as their base the victories so far scored, which provide the basis for the success of the struggle. Therefore, although the struggles waged in various phases could differ from those preceding them in content or form, it does not mean that they have no relationship.

The Workers' Party of Ethiopia is a central body providing vanguard political leadership for safeguarding the interests and fulfilling the needs of the broad masses. In determining the policies to be implemented by Ethiopian society in different fields of endeavour, the WPE, as a vanguard organization which provides leadership, has taken full account of the stage reached and the character acquired by the Revolution. Since the Ethiopian Revolution is linked and related to the world revolutionary process on the basis of mutual support, it has international character. Accordingly, the line charted by the WPE, which is based on Marxism-Leninism has taken into full recognition both internal and external conditions.

Of the numerous victories scored by the Ethiopian Revolution in the political and economic fields during the past decade, those with socialist content are not small in number. In particular, the results achieved in expanding and consolidating socialization in the economic field are conducive to creating the necessary pre-conditions for socialist construction. However, these victories by themselves are not sufficient guarantees for the building of socialism. Therefore, the short term general objective of the Revolution is the fulfilment of the necessary preconditions for bulding socialism.

To accomplish this historic task, it is necessary to look into the major aspects of social life from many angles. In the economic sphere, especially in the agricultural sector, although private ownership predominates, we will, by taking advantage of the existing favourable situation, make strenuous efforts to accelerate and consolidate the socialization process with a view to increasing the productivity of agriculture.

Although the socialized sector in industry is important, its contribution to the national economy is low compared to the other economic sectors. Consequently, a great deal of effort is required to give it due attention and expand it. In view of the decisive role of this sector in providing support to the agricultural sector and of increasing its own contribution to the national economy, the task of expanding industries utilizing appropriate technology is a task that demands the immediate attention of the Revolution.

To ensure the predominance of the socialized sector both in agriculture and industry, it is necessary, on the one hand, to organize more effectively the state sector on a socialist basis and, on the other, to organize and strengthen peasants' and handicraft producers' cooperatives. Therefore, the tasks so far carried out in this direction will be pursued on a larger and improved basis. This is the only way to ensure that industry provides the necessary technology for agriculture and supply the necessary consumption goods for the society and, at the same

time, enable the agricultural sector to provide raw materials for industry and food for the working people.

The expansion of peasants' producers' cooperatives, beyond yielding economic benefits, lays down the necessary material base for the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. As this alliance is one of the vital preconditions for ensuring the dictatorship of the proletariat, special importance should be given to the expansion and consolidation of such cooperatives.

Encouraging results have been obtained from the measures taken so far in increasing the share of the state and the co-operatives in the trade and distribution sector. Nevertheless, a great deal remains to be done in laying a strong foundation for the expansion of the socialized sector in this sphere. At the same time, control will be exercised on the private sector to ensure that it does not undermine the objectives of the Revolution.

In general, since the fulfillment of the preconditions for socialism in the economic sphere depends not only on the socialization of the means of production but on the development of the productive forces as well, measures will continue to be taken to ensure this. The trade sector must be organized in such a way as to increase the capital accumulation needed for this purpose, to establish an appropriate system of exchange and to expand the socialized sector.

To attain a level of development of the productive forces high enough to enable the building of socialism, the trade sector must be in a position to provide the necessary capital accumulation. To achieve this, it will be necessary to free Ethiopia from dependence on the world capitalist market and division of labour and to take measures aimed at strengthening her relations with the world socialist system.

The economic objective of the Revolution is to improve the standard of living of the working people. The measures

to be taken to accelerate the development of the productive forces and to expand and consolidate socialist production relations are aimed at raising the income of wage and salary earners, stabilizing prices, alleviating and eventually solving the housing problem, expanding health services, and eradicating unemployment and other social evils inherited from the old system, by creating employment opportunities.

Beyond the correctness of the plans laid down, our capacity to achieve the practical realization of the economic and social objectives is also very encouraging. It is clear that, based on the victories scored by the Revolution in the economic sphere, adequate preparations have been made to create the political conditions conducive for the realization of the economic goals which the next phase of the struggle aims at.

In this situation, which is given special emphasis in view of its contribution in building the new political system, great efforts have been made to dismantle the old state structure and to replace it with a new one. New institutions have been established to make effective the changes instituted by the Revolution in various fields. Of the old institutions, those considered useful have been retained and reorganized to enable them to discharge their responsibilities effectively.

Since the victories scored in all directions belong to the broad masses, it is necessary to raise popular participation so that the benefits accruing to the broad masses assume a broader and more lasting character. To ensure this, the masses have been organized along various lines. And by participating in the activities of the state through their organizations they have acquired wide experience in self-administration. In view of the results obtained in the effort to replace the old state institutions with new ones and in view of the broad, effective participation of the masses through their various organizations, it is not difficult to understand that a strong foundation has been laid down for a democratic political order.

In order to embark on a socialist revolution, it is necessary to further deepen and consolidate the gains of the democratic revolution. Although the broad masses are effectively exercising their democratic rights and participating broadly in politics, democracy must be fully ascertained and ensured in its legal form in the new political structure. Consequently, it is a major and urgent task of the Revolution to establish a state structure that will have a decisive role in the building of socialism, that ensures the direct participation of the people and is directly accountable to them. This cardinal political objective of the Revolution consists of the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

The democratic aspect of the new state structure must be viewed not only in terms of raising the participation of the people but also in terms of completely abolishing the old state structure and replacing it by a new political and administrative system. Hence, all the necessary endeavours will be made at all stages in the process of building the People's Democratic Republic to ensure the full democratic participation of the working people in administration and ascertain the realization of the equality and right of nationalities to self administration.

In the Republic, not only will conditions be created to enable the broad masses to exercise self-administration through their representatives elected at different levels, but, their political participation through their organizations will also increase in a manner better and broader than has hitherto been the case. This will clearly demonstrate the popular and democratic character of the political system.

The way in which national defence is being organized is one of the clear manifestations that the old state structure is disintegrating and that the foundations are being laid down for a popular political system. Since the existence of a strong popular defence force is a guarantee for safeguarding the gains of the Revolution, far-reaching measures have been taken in this regard. The fact that Revolutionary Ethiopia's defence force is

being built on a broad popular base and involves increasing and wider popular participation is a point of immense significance. WPE's leadership in the Armed Forces is decisive in enabling the popular defence force, which is being built on a strong basis, to enhance its military capability and combat-readiness and make it a trustworthy defender of the dignity of the Motherland and the well-being of the Revolution.

The people's democratic state which is going to be newly established, can pursue a correct line and effectively discharge its responsibilities under the leadership of the WPE. The primary task that the Party must undertake in order to be able to live upto its historic responsibility is that of consolidating itself. And, the success of the effort to be made in this regard is the basic guarantee for the fulfilment of the National Democratic Revolution and the extensive implementation of the task of laying down the basis for socialism.

It is of decisive importance that the WPE ascertain its leadership role as the nucleus of the new political system, develop the new popular state both in content and organization, and adequately discharge its share of the task of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the attention given to the development and strengthening of the Party is interrelated with creating the necessary political pre-conditions for building socialism.

Since the fulfillment of the material pre-conditions for building socialism should be matched by the corresponding subjective pre-conditions, strict measures must be taken in this regard as well. Therefore, the efforts already undertaken to eliminate archaic customs, to eradicate illiteracy, to expand modern education and to train the necessary skilled manpower for accelerating the development of the productive forces will be continued on a broad and qualitative scale. Since the building of a new culture is interconnected with the expansion of a new and progressive outlook, efforts in the strengthening and dissemination of scientific ideology will continue with increased breadth and depth as part of the cultural revolution.

The struggle for building socialism in Ethiopia will not be limited to bringing about changes on the national level alone. In the victories so far scored, the Ethiopian Revolution has deprived international imperialism and reaction of one bastion and given additional strength to the progressive forces of the world, thereby making its contribution to strengthening proletarian internationalism and the world revolutionary movement. At the same time, the Ethiopian Revolution is grateful to the world socialist system and all revolutionary forces for enabling it to develop and reach its current stage of development. And its future progress cannot be conceived outside the context of the world revolutionary movement of which it is part and parcel. Within the principles of proletarian internationalism and revolutionary solidarity, the Ethiopian Revolution will strengthen its ties with the world's revolutionary forces and energetically continue to contribute to the struggle for democracy, peace and social progress.

The Ethiopian Revolution has formulated this Programme to guide its struggle in all fields and to attain its strategic objectives. Although the objective of the Programme is the building of socialism, the task of strengthening the democratic gains which enhance this transition is one of urgency. In this regard, the major task is that of enabling the peasantry, which occupies a major position in our economy and is the major beneficiary of the democratic revolution, to be organized in producers' co-operatives and to benefit from modern technology.

In general, in the endeavour to consolidate the democratic gains of the Revolution, in addition to the forces directly fighting for socialism, the democratic forces that have been making and will continue to make positive contributions during the revolutionary process will have their rightful place and shall play their due role in the building of the new system.

P A R T T W O

THE PARTY'S POLICY ON THE SETTING UP OF A NEW POLITICAL SYSTEM

The aim and function of a political system is to lead a society under a single, unified political authority and ascertain its continual existence. The success of this aim and function is determined by the interests and desires of the ruling class which holds supremacy, and by its leadership capability.

Any political system can realize its class objectives only if it harmonizes the relationship and the functions of its various organs. However, the nature of the relationship of the various organs of a political system is determined by the political conditions prevailing in the society at a given stage of development

In the initial phase of a revolutionary process through which political power is transferred from one class to another, the task of structuring political organs suited to the functions of the new system takes time and, hence, the political system assumes a transitional character. This period of transition is one in which the features of the old and the new political system co-exist side-by-side to a certain extent. The political system of the transitional period cannot be wholly free from contradictions unless the organs of the old system are completely demolished. The general situation which prevails during the transition to socialism and in the process of building a new political system is no exception.

In view of the decisive contribution of the superstructure to the development and consolidation of socialist relations of production, the role of the political system is highly significant. Hence, major attention should be given to the task of freeing the content of the new political system from the influence of the old and ascertaining its supremacy. The task of resolving the contradictions between the old the new, and

preparing conditions to ensure the supremacy of the new political system stage by stage can be accomplished successfully under the leadership of the working class party, which is the core of the new political system. The new political system can expand, consolidate and maintain the new production relations in which the needs of the working people can be satisfied in a lasting manner only if it can create harmonious relationships among its various organs. The leadership of the Party is decisive in the creation of this harmony between and the successful accomplishment of the functions of the different organs of the system—the Party, State and Mass Organizations.

Even though there existed no party in the course of the ten years of our Revolution, numerous tasks have been accomplished with regard to demolishing the feudal political system and establishing the organs of the new democratic political order under the leadership of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) and in addition, later, under the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE).

Ever since the Provisional Military Administrative Council assumed power on 12 September 1974, and shouldered historic task of leading the Revolution, it has created favourable conditions for the building of the new political system by dismantling the major state organs of the feudal order. This consisted of the restructuring of the various state apparatuses in order to prepare them to discharge their new responsibilities, along with the establishment of mass organizations and the enhancement of their political participation.

Because the Revolution lacked the benefit of party leadership right from the beginning, the struggle to demolish the state apparatus, which held a major position in the old political system, and build a new one was replete with highly complex problems.

In view of this, there have existed contradictions between some organs, legislations, rules and regulations inherited from the old political system and the class interest for which the Revolution stands. However, the supremacy of the Revolution has been ascertained within the state apparatus because it has been possible to destroy the most decisive organs of the old political system in the course of the intense class struggle in all spheres, ranging from ideological struggle to armed confrontations.

At the present stage of development of our Revolution, the political system manifests a transitional character; and hence, on the one hand, conditions which enable the structuring of the new political system have been created and gained supremacy, while, on the other hand, the remnants of the old political system have not yet been completely abolished. Hence, it is the major task of the WPE to resolve this contradiction in a manner which benefits the Revolution and make the necessary effort to establish the new political system on an adequate basis.

The transition to socialism in any country is a complex process of development governed by objective historical laws. Apart from the universal laws which have general applicability, there are laws which especially govern the transition to socialism when it is accomplished by arising from a low level of development. The transition of backward nations to socialism is accomplished by following the non-capitalist path of development and, as such, has its own distinctive features. In view of this, the political, economic and social phenomena which emerge at different stages in the course of the democratic process reflect distinct characteristics.

Since Ethiopian society was found at an extremely low level of development, the Revolution had to assume the democratic form of a transition to socialism through the non-

capitalist path. And hence, the various spheres of social life manifest the same character.

Even though a democratic revolution is a process involving the general task of developing the productive forces, expanding the production relations and then embarking upon socialist construction, it comprises of certain distinct phases. These phases manifest themselves specially within the political superstructures of society. In the initial phase of a democratic revolution, there obtains a political situation characterized by the predominance, in general, of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces. In this situation, where various classes and social sectors are bound together by a common goal, no one single class emerges clearly as predominant. The political situation at this stage is highly fluid and unstable.

When the supremacy of the democratic forces is gradually ascertained and the transition to socialism is being effected in a more strengthened and reliable manner, the predominance of the working class and the political forces which represent the interests of this class becomes glaringly clear. This process of change is reflected in the life of the Party — the core of the political system — itself. The consolidation of the Party is indeed decisive in the creation of favourable conditions for ensuring the supremacy of the working class in the political life of the society.

The strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist content and working procedures of the party ensures the capability of the democratic state to be newly established, and also enables the establishment of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a distinct form. The new state established under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia will be a people's democratic state which shall remove all the remnants of the old state apparatus, one in which the right of people to self government shall be fully ascertained and supported by law,

and the principle of democratic centralism shall be practically realized.

In the process of setting up the new political system, over and above creating the organs of the people's democratic state apparatus, one major focus of WPE's attention will include the task of preparing the mass organizations, which are a component part of the political system for their new responsibilities. Most of the now existing mass organizations have been established after the onset of the Revolution and even the trade union, though originally established prior to the Revolution, has been reorganized; hence, suitable conditions which will enable them all to assume their rightful position in the new political system have been created.

Since the mass organizations have been established and structured in line with the objectives of the Revolution, no contradictions are manifest amongst them with regard to their new responsibilities. Nevertheless, the Party will continue to do everything that is necessary to further develop their capability to make the highly significant contributions expected of them in the new political system.

Within the framework of the endeavour to complete the Democratic Revolution and embark on socialist construction extensively, the task of strengthening the organizational set up and working procedures of the component parts of the new political system — namely, the Party, the State and the Mass Organizations — is one to which great importance should be attached. Above everything, however, the WPE, as the nucleus of the political system, must test itself through actual practice, and give priority to the task of ascertaining that it effectively discharges its role as the vanguard of the working class and the entire working people.

1. *THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF ETHIOPIA*

The Workers' Party of Ethiopia is the vanguard organization of the working class and of its ally, the peasantry, and of all the working people. It holds Marxism-Leninism as its guideline and struggles for socialism and communism. The WPE has been realized after a protracted struggle which demanded immense sacrifices; hence, the organizational experience from which it arises cannot be underestimated. Yet, in view of the colossal tasks that await it in building a new society in all directions, it must highly invigorate itself in its own inner life, as well as in the leadership which it provides to the society in general. Its major task, therefore, involves the consistent expansion and consolidation of its social base, the ascertaining of the quality and competence of its members, the strengthening of its bond with the working people, and the coordination of its organizational work and leadership in conformity with the level of advancement of the Revolution and the general level of development of the society.

The objective of the Programme of the WPE, which has been worked out on the basis of a correct analysis of the level of development of our Revolution, is to complete the National Democratic Revolution and undertake the transition to socialism. The practical realization of this objective is determined by the efforts which the WPE exerts to guide the Revolution towards its goal along the correct line by relating Marxism-Leninism to the objective conditions prevailing on the international level and especially in Ethiopia.

The vanguard position of the WPE is expressed through the leadership that it provides as the core of the political system. Even though the various organs of the political system, i.e., the Party, the State and Mass Organizations, do have differences in terms of their organizational set up, the social forces they embrace, and their position and role in the process of building

the new society, they are indeed closely bound together in terms of their aims and functions. While both the organs of the State and Mass Organizations are guided along the lines and by the policies formulated by the Party, their aims and functions, too, cannot be considered outside the overall strategy and tactics of the Party. Therefore, these organs are instruments which promote the objectives of the Party; they are also a bridge between the people and the Party in that they practically implement the Party's guidelines and directives through the active participation of the working people.

The WPE will set up a new state structure, strengthen mass organizations in conformity with the level of development of the Revolution and the tasks and responsibilities expected of them, and provide them with coordinated leadership. It shall consistently develop their structures and working procedures and provide them with close guidance and assistance to ensure that they do not stray away from the objectives of the Revolution and their activities are guided along clear-cut plans and programmes in a coordinated manner. The Party shall do everything necessary to enable them to effectively accomplish their mission, to actively participate in the practical implementation of its objectives and policy, and concretely reflect their interdependence, interrelationship and unity of practice in their respective localities through the instrumentality of its organs and members.

The process of consolidating the new political system in terms of its organizational set-up and the coordination of its activities embodies the task of elevating the Party and the people's power organized under it to a greater height. The leadership which the WPE shall provide to the state as well as to the mass organizations will be based on education, persuasion and example. This type of leadership will enable the various organs of the political system to accept the goals of the party with enthusiasm and make active participation through their own initiatives.

2. *ESTABLISHING A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC STATE*

The primary task in the course of the endeavour to set up the new political system in Ethiopia is that of establishing a People's Democratic Republic. And the task of the state in the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia will be that of completing the National Democratic Revolution and carrying out the construction of socialism. This will find expression in the full realization of the democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry and, eventually, in the categorical supremacy of the working class.

The social base of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia will be founded on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and the collaboration of the revolutionary intelligentsia, the revolutionary armed forces, handicraftsmen and office workers who stand for the objectives of the Revolution. This shall serve as a bridge in the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The structuring and working procedures of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia will be governed by the universal Marxist-Leninist principles of state formation and working procedures. Accordingly, the distinctive characteristics of the Republic will find expression through proletarian internationalism, democratic centralism, socialist legality and active popular participation in the organs and activities of the state. This state will stand to administer a society based on justice, equality and humane relationships, in which no citizen shall be discriminated against on the basis of sex, religion, race or nationality. The organizational set-up and working procedures of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, as well as the basic rights of citizens in general will be determined and guaranteed through a constitution and various laws and regulations which shall be derived from it.

The administrative structure of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia shall be uniformly based on the economic con-

ditions prevailing in the various regions as well as the settlement pattern of nationalities. In this Republic, state power, ranging from the lowest administrative unit to the national level, shall find expression through popularly elected bodies. In the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the highest state organ will be the National People's Assembly, in which the WPE will ascertain the supremacy of the working class in particular along with the requisite participation of the nationalities.

All the various sectors of the working people will have their due share in the formulation of laws. It shall also be ascertained, through government and people's control, that the state apparatus properly uses its authority and effectively discharges its duties.

The major tasks of the People's Democratic State to be established in the near future comprise of carrying out, coordinating and controlling all social and economic development activities in a planned manner, consistently developing the country's defence potential and protecting the country and the gains of the Revolution, along with pursuing a foreign policy based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful co-existence.

3. CONSOLIDATING MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND ENHANCING THEIR ROLE

The Workers' Party of Ethiopia has an unshakable faith in the history-making role and the invincibility of the working people. As such, it realizes the decisiveness of popular participation for the practical realization of its objectives. The decisiveness of this participation, however, derives not from the numerical size of the people but rather from their conscious participation, for which the organization of the working people is a determining factor.

In view of this, consistent effort must be exerted to further consolidate the mass organizations, which have been established on the basis of working and residential localities, sex

and age in such a way that the contributions they make in the practical implementation of the objectives of the Party and satisfying the needs of their members develops in consonance with the advancement of the Revolution.

The Workers' Party of Ethiopia attaches great importance to the strengthening of mass organizations in view of the fact that they are vital platforms in its relationship with the working people. The aim of this relationship rests on enabling the mass organizations to effectively contribute their share as a component part of the new political system which shall be based on the direct participation of the working people.

In view of the inter-relationship that must obtain between the various organs of the political system, weaknesses in any one of them ultimately become the weaknesses of the entire political system. Any weakness or strength in anyone of these organs has an impact on the others; hence, any measure taken to strengthen anyone of them will contribute to the strengthening of the rest.

The Workers' Party of Ethiopia does not consider the leadership it provides for reinforcing mass organizations in isolation from the measures it takes to effectively play its role and develop its own capability as the vanguard of the political system. On the other hand, since the task of creating conditions which will enhance the strength of the mass organizations and enable them to effectively accomplish the duties expected of them, is a collective concern of the entire political system, not only the Party but also the state and the mass organizations themselves have their own responsibilities in this regard. The coordinated effort of all the three component organs of the political system is an indispensable factor in guaranteeing the continuous advance of the Revolution; the WPE will, accordingly, ensure this by effectively playing its vanguard role.

The relationship which the mass organizations forge amongst themselves and with the state must not be based on spontaneity; it must rather be based on a system of mutual support and complementarity of activities. This is an essential pre-requisite which must be fulfilled if mass organizations are to make the necessary contribution towards the practical realization of the Party's economic, political and cultural policies.

Mass organizations have hitherto made highly significant contributions in popularizing the Ethiopian Revolution and reflecting its policy through the strong relationships they have forged with international and continental organizations as well as with their counter-parts in other countries. And as a result of the respect they have won through these relations, the role of Revolutionary Ethiopia's mass organizations on international forums has become concretely manifest. They shall continue to be provided with the necessary assistance, so that their contribution in this regard shall increase and the support which they muster for our Revolution grow.

Even though mass organizations may be considered collectively in view of their common goal and similarity of character, the WPE realizes that they also need to be given individual attention in accordance with the specific conditions under which they have been established and the distinctive responsibilities they carry in the practical implementation of the objectives of the Revolution.

The ongoing struggle for the construction of socialism can reach its final goal only if it advances with the working class as its vanguard; hence, the political maturity of this class is indeed a matter of primary significance. Accordingly, enabling the *All-Ethiopia Trade Union* (AETU) to effectively accomplish the tasks expected of it is a matter of immense importance. Since the AETU is an organization which embraces all the workers of the country, enabling it to effectively accomplish its mission cannot be considered apart from the fundamental

objective of enabling the working class to shoulder its historic mission. The trade unions, being vital platforms in which workers learn Communism and the building and administration of a new society, shall be better organized and consolidated to effect this task.

Trade unions play an extensive role in strengthening labour discipline and in helping the worker raise his productivity by using his creative potentials, and through increased participation in production management. In view of this, much is expected of them with regard to promoting socialist emulation and enabling the worker to generate maximum output with minimum expenditure, labour and time.

Since the trade unions carry the responsibility of protecting the interests of the worker, it is evident that they should be given every assistance to enable them to discharge this responsibility effectively. On the other hand, the worker must properly and economically utilize the means of production and raw materials, and also combat wastefulness. It is only if this is made practical within the context of their contribution for the construction of socialism that the educational, health, vacation, recreational and various other services which workers are provided with can be expanded and their standard in general be consistently improved.

The All-Ethiopia Peasants' Association (AEPA), which embraces 85% of the Ethiopian people comprising of that sector specifically engaged in agriculture, shoulders a heavy responsibility in the ongoing endeavour to rally the peasantry to participate more consciously in the practical implementation of the objectives of the Revolution as well as in the improvement of its own life. Much is expected of the AEPA in the practical realization of the policies which the Workers' Party of Ethiopia has formulated to enhance the growth of agricultural production, and, in general, for rural development and concrete changes in the life of the peasantry. As the responsibilities which the AEPA has to discharge increase in scope with the further

advancement of the Revolution, it is indispensable that it be consistently and concomitantly consolidated.

In view of the fact that the peasantry holds a highly significant position in the national economy, its contribution towards the practical attainment of the objectives of the Revolution is indeed decisive. It is well known that under the objective conditions prevailing in Ethiopia, the agricultural economic sector in particular forms the starting point in our development. The major moving force in this sector being the peasantry, its contribution must indeed be accorded immense significance.

The construction of socialism is based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry; hence, in order for these classes to accomplish their historic responsibility, the role the AETU and AEPA play under the leadership of the Party is decisive. Since the correct path along which the peasantry in particular can march towards socialism is that of being organized in producers' cooperatives, the AEPA has an important contribution to make in this regard as well as in enabling the *Kebele* (locality) peasants' associations in general to form a reliable administrative base in the rural areas in view of the structuring of the new state.

The extensive organization of the peasantry into producers' cooperatives will not only augment the growth of agricultural production in economic terms but also help ascertain the supremacy of socialism in political terms. The extensive implementation of this task requires intensive struggle. It is essential to create suitable conditions for the provision of training to enable those peasants who stand for this objective to raise their consciousness and develop their skill consistently. In view of this, the task of establishing suitable training centres in various parts of the country and upgrading those that have already been established, so that they can yield better outcomes, shall continue extensively.

The role of the AEPA is especially extensive with regard to enabling the peasantry to discharge its national responsibility of protecting, caring for and developing the country's natural resources. In general, the contribution of the AEPA in enabling the peasantry to contribute its share for the realization of the ultimate goal of the Revolution and also emancipate itself from backward outlook, tradition, working procedures and living conditions holds a truly prominent place. Hence, it shall be offered all assistance to ensure its successful accomplishment of this duty.

The fundamental objective of the struggle we are waging in all directions is to build a new society, and the youth are the inheritors of the fruits of this struggle and the major force in the building of the new society. Hence, what is expected of the youth of Revolutionary Ethiopia at this juncture, when the new system it is going to inherit is under the process of construction, is not merely to await for this heritage but also to make a frontline participation in the actual struggle.

The WPE's fundamental policy with regard to the youth focuses on moulding them with socialist morality in order to prepare them to carry their historic responsibility. The youth make up the major sector which is the reserve force of the Party; hence, the WPE's ideological and political work among the youth is linked with the task of recruiting new members. One of the major tasks of the WPE in this regard, therefore, is to consolidate the *Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association* (REYA), and develop it into an organization of young communists.

The youth can properly shoulder its historic responsibility as the inheritor of the future society if it is moulded by the fundamental precepts of Marxism-Leninism, if it is nurtured in knowledge, physically and morally fit and healthy. It is only if these tasks are successfully carried out that the youth can stand at the forefront of the struggle to build socialism and defend the Motherland from any attack, that they can prove their socialist

patriotism and their loyalty to the Party. Therefore, measures shall be taken to create more suitable conditions that would enable the youth to develop their participation in the political life of the country through their association and better discharge their responsibilities. In view of this, additional assistance will be extended to REYA to augment its efforts to better meet the educational needs, and improve the working conditions and recreational facilities of its members, in addition to developing the political participation of the youth.

The practical realization of the objectives of the Revolution can attain lasting guarantee if children are nurtured with and grow up in the spirit of socialism. Though the responsibility in this regard rests on the entire society starting with the family, REYA also has very important contributions to make. The WPE shall always give unstinting assistance to REYA to adequately discharge its responsibility with regard to the proper care and educational nurturing of children so as to enable them to become responsible socialist citizens.

Developing the productive forces and creating suitable conditions for socialist construction also means creating the material conditions for ascertaining the freedom of women. Accordingly, the *Revolutionary Ethiopia Women's Association* (REWA), whose primary objective is ensuring the equality of women, must struggle with additional vigour for the construction of socialism so that it can successfully accomplish its mission.

It will be wrong to expect that the emancipation of women and the affirmation of their equality with men should come about merely as a result of their own competitive efforts. Considering that the condition of women started from a very low point of departure, particular attention should be given to their problem. In view of this, it is essential to create a conducive

environment for women to develop their professional competence, to alleviate their problems, and to contribute their due share by participating on an equal footing in the political, economic and cultural fields. It is indeed especially important to issue and properly implement laws and regulations which guarantee the equality of women.

The expansion of health services for mothers and children requires the concerted effort of the state and the co-operation of the entire working people. In order to bring about the outcome expected in this regard, it is especially necessary to intensify the activities of REWA. With regard to creating conducive situations for the proper upbringing of children, the expansion of nurseries and kindergartens, apart from its overall benefits, will especially ease the burden of family responsibility resting upon women and provide them with ample opportunities to increase their social participation.

In recognition of the objectives it has to fulfill, it is imperative to enable REWA to present its views on all relevant issues, and especially on those which concern women in particular. Providing REWA with the necessary assistance to contribute its share in the implementation of the plans formulated through its participation cannot be considered apart from speeding up the realization of the equality of women; hence, the WPE shall ensure the practicability of this aim.

In the course of the struggle waged in various spheres for the growth and consolidation of our Revolution, the *Urban Dwellers' Associations* (UDAs) have made their own contributions. Especially, however, in line with the fundamental objectives for which they were set up, they have been serving as democratic platforms for the expression of the right to self-administration. Their organizational structure and working procedures have also been improved from time to time, as a result of which the administrative, legal and other services

provided to urban dwellers by these organizations, in which they participate themselves, have been expanded and consistently developed.

Urban Dwellers' Associations will have extensive roles in the laying down of the structures of the people's democratic state in the urban areas and in the framework of the new political system in general. In order to make this a practical reality, however, it is essential to further consolidate them with trained manpower and also create other suitable conditions. It is only in this way that they can make the contributions expected of them in speeding up urban development by mobilizing the entire urban population.

In addition to striving for the creation of better living conditions in their respective localities, *Urban Dwellers' Associations* have a significant share in conducting public safety and social security work in a reliable manner in their respective areas. The necessary assistance will be provided to these *Urban Dwellers' Associations*, which are instruments of development and democracy, to enable them to expand vital social and cultural services and provide efficient administration.

Among the forums in which the working people coordinate their struggle in order to reach the goals set for them by the WPE are to be found the *Professional Associations*. In full recognition of the fact that the building of socialism requires the contributions of professionals in the various spheres, the Revolutionary Government, right from the very first days of the Revolution, attached great importance to professionals so that they may be respected for their skills, get organized and put their knowledge and experience at the service of the popular cause. The fact that most of the Professional Associations in the country were established in the course of the Revolution in itself attests to this. In the course of our Revolution, Professional Associations have participated in the struggle, according to their respective specialization, in educating the broad masses, in

moulding the youth educationally and disciplining them, in expanding health services, in nurturing a popular culture — they have made worthy contributions by reflecting and enhancing the practical implementation of the directives, policies and achievements of the Revolution through their creative works and, when necessary, even going to the war fronts.

The contributions made heretofore by various professionals hold their own place in the history of the struggle of the working people; yet, extensive and profound tasks still lie ahead of them in view of the ultimate objective of the Revolution. Teachers, health professionals, journalists, writers, painters, performing artists, musicians — all professionals, in general — have a highly significant role to play in the building of the new society. Professionals shoulder a serious responsibility in mobilizing and assisting the working people for the construction of socialism.

In view of this, suitable conditions shall be created to develop various professions and skills, and also to develop the capability of the already existing professional associations while striving to set up new ones, so that they would make tangible contributions to the development of the society.

Inasmuch as the organization of the broad masses in various spheres has created a strong social base conducive for promoting the objectives of the Revolution, it has also been useful in developing the experience of the people in self-administration. One of the vital means which enables the working people to prove their capability in this regard is the system of *Working People's Control*. The laying down of the structure of this system at various levels in the entire society is one of the guarantees for the attainment of the goals of the Revolution.

Since the implementation of the Working People's Control, to the extent envisaged, will make highly valuable contributions in enabling the working people to protect and care for the country's wealth as well as their own property and utilize them pro-

perly, to promote full respect for discipline in work and life, to ascertain the prevalence of democratic centralism and legality in administration, and to abolish bureaucratism and favouritism, it will have a prominent place in the building of the new order.

Since the building of the new political system will be carried out through the participation of the entire working people, its continuity and development is based on the democratic participation of the people in all spheres. And this can be realized by giving priority to popular objectives without, however, isolating the common good from individual interest, and by considering democratic rights in conjunction with the maintenance of centralism and the respect for duty or obligation. The practical implementation of people's control is one vital means for ascertaining this.

The practicality of people's control, however, is not limited to defending the interests of the people and controlling disruptive activities, but also to creating additional capability and suitable conditions for speeding up the process of construction, and ascertaining the proper implementation of the political, economic and cultural policies of the state. Therefore, this democratic instrument, which promotes the broad participation of the working people in the administrative activities of the state and has immense contributions towards ascertaining the supremacy of the people, will be further expanded and consolidated.

P A R T T H R E E

THE PARTY'S POLICY ON NATIONALITIES

As can be perceived from the tasks it has accomplished and the results it has achieved so far, the objective of the Ethiopian Revolution is to completely free the broad masses from exploitation and all kinds of oppression by advancing on the socialist path of development. The exposure of the people to ruthless exploitation and oppression was the characteristic feature of pre-revolution Ethiopia, which was under the yoke of feudalism and neocolonialism. In addition to the exploitation of workers, peasants and the working masses in general by capitalists and feudalists, the country's national dignity and political freedom themselves were held under the subjugation of international imperialism, especially of United States imperialism. As a result of this, Ethiopia was a country where there was no equality of nationalities, sexes and religions.

The Ethiopian masses, who, in February 1974, rose as a united force and struggled for genuine freedom, have changed these deplorable conditions by uprooting the old order. By putting an end to the private ownership of the major means of production, and especially by abolishing feudal land ownership, the cause of exploitation and all kinds of oppression, an unshakable foundation has been laid down for the realization of the equality of all citizens. This condition is the outcome of the common struggle of the masses based on class unity and solidarity. And as the lasting relationship of the working people is based on this kind of unity, today no Ethiopian is discriminated against on the basis of nationality, sex or religion.

Today in our country, not only is the equality of nationalities guaranteed by law, but tangible measures have also been taken to create the material and spiritual foundation for such equality. Henceforth, too, it will be the primary task of the Revolution to enable all nationalities to reach a stage where they can rally together on the basis of equality for common prosperity and

development. Accordingly, ideological and cultural conditions have been created for enhancing the active participation of the masses, which is a vital instrument for the fulfillment of this goal. In this context, the provision as far as resources permit, of education, the preparation of radio programmes and the appearance of publications in the languages of various nationalities are additional proofs for the creation of suitable conditions to guarantee the equality of nationalities.

The nationality question was a major democratic question in pre-revolution Ethiopia. Nevertheless, it is also to be remembered that pseudo-revolutionaries interpreted the right of self-determination of nationalities in an absolute sense, thus posing as fighters for democracy and thereby hoodwinking the masses. Therefore, bitter theoretical and political struggles have been waged on this question before and especially upon the outbreak of the Revolution. Even today, the forces of reaction try to use this issue as their major weapon for challenging our Revolution. However, the issue of the right of nationalities is following the correct course towards its solution as a result of the gains the broad masses have made by following the road of development which they have chosen to free themselves from all kinds of exploitation and oppression.

Basically, since economic relations are the basis for the oppression of nationalities, it is in this more than in any other sphere that the expression of their concrete equality has to be guaranteed. Short of this, any talk of equality of nationalities can only be superficial. Therefore, the genuine step that should be taken to realize the true equality of nationalities should be one which can assure their common development and prosperity. Marxism-Leninism views the equality of nationalities from the point of view of eliminating the disparity between their levels of development, and specially from the point of view of coordinating the concerted efforts and cooperation of the working people to raise the backward ones to the level of the others in order to speed up the common development of all.

That the rights of nationalities are truly realized and their development gets lasting guarantee only under socialism is an historically proven and concrete scientific truth. On the contrary, in social systems where private ownership prevails, the relationship among nationalities is dominated by chauvinism, narrow nationalism, selfishness and mutual distrust. Under socialism, however, the relationship between nationalities is based on voluntary initiative, equality, fraternity, cooperation and mutual respect. In view of this, the Ethiopian Revolution, whose objective, since its outbreak, has been to build socialism, has been taking concrete measures to find the right solution to the question on the basis of the principle of self-determination of nationalities. The Programme of the Ethiopian National Democratic Revolution in particular, in light of the objective conditions under which our country is found, has expressed unequivocally that regional autonomy is the scientific solution for ensuring the rights of nationalities. And this is a point that should be given special consideration.

Today also, from the point of view of the stage of development of our country, there is no alternative to ensuring the equality of its nationalities and also to ensuring that each nationality, through self-administration, exercises its democratic rights properly for the common good, both politically and economically.

The correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of the self-determination of nationalities is based on the study of historical conditions and on the study of its relationship with the development of the class struggle. The solution to the question of nationalities is not absolute, and has to be seen within a specific historical context. The respect of this right should be viewed in terms of the level of socio-economic development in which the nationalities are found. The respect of the right of nationalities in Ethiopia should also be seen in this context.

In Ethiopia today, since the major material bases for exploitation and oppression have been dismantled, suitable condi-

tions have been created for the prevalence of relations based on equality among the working people. On the basis of the democratic victories achieved so far, efforts which are beneficial to the building of socialism are being made in every direction and in all spheres. **Even though guaranteeing the right of nationalities is one component of this process, its full implementation truly needs special attention. Thus, in order that the rights of Ethiopian nationalities are guaranteed and that their collective prosperity is ensured, conditions should be created, step by step, for regional autonomy, on the one hand, and, on the other, for strengthening their unity based on cooperation and equality, which is the guarantee for their common prosperity. Regional autonomy will enable them to make full use of their democratic rights, while the safeguarding of their unity will provide them with strength in defending themselves against the assault of reactionaries and ensuring their march forward along the road of progress. It will also enable them to build the new society by mobilizing the entire material and human resources of the country.**

As the question of nationalities is a democratic question, the expression of its content is political as well. Therefore, the participation of the nationalities in the society's political leadership should be clearly observable.

The establishment of a people's political system is expressed by the establishment of a democratic state structure which enables the working people to extensively participate in it. In multinational countries like Ethiopia, the broad political participation of the working people will be assured only if the new state structure takes into consideration the settlement patterns of nationalities. On this basis, in the new People's Democratic Ethiopia the lasting guarantee for the respect of the rights of nationalities is the materialization of the right to regional autonomy.

On the contrary, those forces who, in the name of the freedom of nationalities, advance the aim of secession and use

force to realize this aim are enemies of the working people and stand for their own immediate interests and for the fulfillment of the strategic aims of imperialism. The on-going struggle in our country, whether associated with the question of nationalities or in any other form, is a class struggle which is being waged between the forces of revolution and those of reaction. The forces of the revolution struggle not only against internal enemies but also against their supporters and patrons — imperialism and reaction. Although international imperialism and reactionary forces may give the impression of concentrating only on specific parts of our country where they encourage secessionists and narrow nationalists, it is known that they stand against our Revolution in general. It is no secret that their strategic aim is to put the whole of Ethiopia and its people under their control.

The respect of the unity of the nationalities of Ethiopia is a guarantee for the strength of the whole country and its people. And in light of current objective conditions, the outcome of this strength is the definite forward march of the Revolution and the realization of socialism in our country. However, imperialism and the forces of reaction, in the futile hope of regaining the dominance they once had over Ethiopia, give unreserved support to all forces of counter-revolution, especially to those who, under the cover of the freedom of nationalities, stand for the aim of secession. Counter-revolutionary forces who stand for the aim of secession, in addition to making futile attempts to obstruct the construction of a new popular system and to hand over our Motherland to imperialism, cause internecine bloodshed among the sons and daughters of Ethiopia. But this is not at all the desire of the Revolution. Solving problems in a peaceful and democratic manner has always been and still is the primary choice of the Revolution. However, there is no alternative but to thwart by force those reactionary forces who challenge the unity of Revolutionary Ethiopia through the use of force. Safeguarding the security of our Motherland and our Revolution, by paying all sacrifices that the situation demands, is a cause for which the Party and all the working people staunchly struggle.

The WPE shall ensure that all the nationalities of Ethiopia, their rights respected on the basis of the favourable conditions created by the Revolution, attain common prosperity by means of the strength emanating from their unity.

Accordingly, the WPE has outlined the following major tasks:-

- a) Politically, to realize the equality of nationalities in the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, efforts will be made to provide a lasting solution to the question of nationalities by fulfilling the objective conditions whereby regional autonomy would be realized.
- b) Economically, suitable conditions will be created whereby, by giving priority especially to those nationalities which have been limited to a low level of development, the development of nationalities progresses equitably, and division of labour is effected on the basis of the special characteristics of a region and its economic conditions, and cooperation and collective efforts are coordinated for a common prosperity.
- c) Culturally, all nationalities will be given the necessary assistance to develop the positive aspects of their respective cultures and to build a culture national in form but socialist in content; and also to enable them to develop a common socialist culture, which will be created as a result of the cultural contact emanating from their developing ideological unity.

The WPE, from the point of view of the socialist path of development we have embarked upon, will struggle staunchly for the common welfare and prosperity of the nationalities of Ethiopia and also for the respect of the unity of the country based on equality. This stand which the Party advances is not limited to the relationship among the nationalities of Ethiopia only, but will also be reflected in its efforts to strengthen friendship among the peoples of the world. On this basis, the WPE, committed to the principle of proletarian internationalism, will staunchly

struggle for the building of a socialist society, wherein the unity of all the nationalities of Ethiopia is strengthened and their common prosperity is realized, and together with this for the practicability of the strategic goal of ensuring that the world belongs to the working people.

PART FOUR

THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PARTY

The Ethiopian Revolution has irreversibly shattered the feudal order which, deeply and broadly entrenched in the country for centuries, had subjected the broad masses to misery and suffering. By bringing major production, distribution and financial enterprises under government control, it has created suitable conditions for abolishing capitalism and building a socialist economy. In order to prevent the revival of capitalism and to strengthen socialist relations of production in the rural as well as in the urban areas, the process of the formation of producers' co-operatives is being carried out satisfactorily. And in order to safeguard and consolidate these victories, the working people have been organized in various spheres.

Struggles that demanded great sacrifices have been waged against feudalists, the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie as well as against their patron, international imperialism, in order to safeguard these victories which the Ethiopian working people have scored through the Revolution. As such, since the struggle of the broad masses in the initial stages of the Revolution was concentrated on ascertaining the political supremacy of the working people there was very little respite for reorganizing the economy and facilitating the growth of the productive forces. During that critical period, the struggle in the economic sphere could not go beyond preparing the State structure for the new democratic responsibilities and protecting economic establishments and their activities against the sabotages and conspiracies of reactionaries. Therefore, at the initial stage, the over-all growth rate of production was declining owing to, on the one hand, organizational problems and lack of experience in the regulation and management of the new economic system and, on the other, various pressures exerted on the economy by the reactionary forces. Moreover, a serious crisis and dislocation

was created with respect to the distribution and exchange of goods in particular.

Since the working people had to spend the first half of the revolutionary decade in resisting the aggression unleashed by their enemies, it was only later that attention could be given to economic construction. Even thereafter, since peace was not restored completely, the development endeavours were not free from the pressure created by the sacrifices demanded in the struggle to safeguard the unity of the Motherland and the well-being of the Revolution.

In the sphere of economic construction, priority was given to the task of creating a planning body that could centrally mobilize, lead and coordinate the manpower, financial and material resources of the country. Accordingly, through the instrumentality of the National Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council, established in 1978, six successive annual development campaign programmes were formulated and implemented. These programmes enabled the revival of the country's economic life in a short span of time, first of all through the reconstruction of the economic infrastructure destroyed during the war against internal and external reactionary forces, and through the solution of problems which were encountered particularly in the industrial sector, and had hampered the full utilization of its capacity during the initial phase of the class struggle.

Over and above these immediate tasks, the efforts made to achieve a rapid growth in the sphere of material production, to expand economic and social services, and to institute a better system of distribution and exchange of goods and the results thereof cannot be underestimated.

Under the objective conditions of our country, along with the creation and strengthening of the preconditions for alleviating the immediate problems of the working people and for the development of the productive forces, priority was given to rais-

ing the productivity of the agricultural sector. Accordingly, significant efforts were made to expand state farms, to organize peasants' producers' cooperatives, and to raise the productivity of the peasantry in general. Even though, due to various problems, the growth of productivity in agriculture could not show the expected rate of changes, encouraging results have been achieved in improving the supply of food grains, in making available raw materials for domestic industry, in producing export crops, as well as in creating additional job opportunities.

In the industrial sector, in addition to the measures taken to enable industrial plants to reach a level wherein they can operate more or less at their full capacity, expansion programmes have been undertaken and new projects implemented in some basic industrial branches. Consequently, the establishment of new factories and the expansion of existing ones in the textile, food processing and other branches of light industry, have made it possible to attain a high level of production, to create additional employment opportunities and, on a moderate scale, to alleviate the shortage of basic industrial goods. With respect to cottage industry, which complements manufacturing, several measures have been taken to organize craftsmen in producers' cooperatives and to raise the productivity of the sector as a whole. In addition to this, the efforts undertaken to increase cement, electric power, modern agricultural implements and other similar products which have a crucial contribution to the development of the productive forces cannot be underestimated.

Again, with respect to promoting the development of the mining sector which has a significant contribution for the building of an independent and strong national economy, steps have been taken to conduct preliminary prospecting works and to strengthen existing activities for the development of mining.

The tasks accomplished in the last ten years particularly in the construction sector are distinctly observable. Several indu-

strial projects of considerable importance have been implemented speedily. And the activities undertaken in various economic and social spheres have also demanded the building of an enormous construction capability. It has thus been possible not only to implement the programmes formulated for the various economic sectors in the last ten years, but steps have also been taken to improve the construction sector's set up, organization and method of work with a view to developing the country's construction capability for the success of our future efforts.

The growth observed in the past ten years in the communication and transport sector is also considerable. While road construction has increased by more than three-fold as compared to the pre-revolution period, much activity has also been observed with respect to expanding road transport services. Through the steps taken to expand and strengthen air transport and maritime services, not only additional aeroplanes and ships have been put in to service but it has also been possible to further improve the sector's organization and working procedures.

In the sphere of communication, too, steps which render the country's communication services more efficient have been taken by expanding and improving the distribution of microwave services and other modern communication equipments.

Numerous measures have also been taken to improve the situation in the trade sector, which has been facing serious problems owing to the fact that it has been a major target of reactionaries since the onset of the Revolution. It has been possible, within a short period of time, to raise the state's share in wholesale trade, domestic trade and import-export activities to a high level by establishing state-owned commercial enterprises and by improving their management. In retail trade, much effort has been exerted to expand cooperative shops and service cooperatives with the aim of curtailing exploitation by private merchants and the imbalance in the distribution of goods

Much has been done to expand the social services that are necessary for the development of the productive forces and the improvement of the living standard of the working people. In the field of formal education, very high growth has been achieved in educational opportunities at all levels compared to the base inherited by the Revolution. And the development attained in expanding basic health services is to be highly regarded. Effort has also been made, to the extent possible, to alleviate unemployment and other social problems.

Along with the efforts made to accelerate the development of the economy, several measures have been taken to prepare and organize State economic organizations and institutions for their new responsibilities. In addition, workers' control committees have been set up nation-wide and in areas of major-economic importance in order to nurture the socialist economic sector, and to curb the conspiracy of reactionary forces aimed at obstructing the state's economic activities.

Even though so much endeavour has been exerted to accelerate the development of the economy of the country, because of the very low level of the growth of the productive forces we have not been able to use all our resources to change this situation. Since the task of resisting the unrelenting attacks of our enemies competes with the development effort, there still remain very obvious and complex economic and social problems which have to be resolved through arduous struggles. A low level of accumulation capability, low labour productivity, a slow rate of growth of the material sector, limited economic and social infrastructure, a low level of capability for prospecting, caring for, protecting and developing natural resources, and an undeveloped capability for economic management are basic weaknesses that are glaringly obvious in the economy. And what this shows is that an onerous struggle awaits us in laying down the material and technical basis for socialism.

The process of laying down the basis for socialism requires not only developing the productive forces but also bringing about a corresponding change in production relations. Even though steps have been taken in the past years to expand and strengthen socialist production relations, when the share of the socialist economic sector in relation to the country's overall economy is taken into account, it is not difficult to realize that the struggle which awaits us with respect to accelerating the production relations is very considerable.

At present there are two major sectors in the economy, and they are:-

- a. the socialist sector in the form of State and co-operative ownership;
- b. the private economic sector in the form of capitalist and petty commodity production.

In addition to these major sectors, there is another form of ownership manifested in the form of economic projects run by the State and foreign countries and companies as joint development ventures. In the most backward areas, especially in border regions, there also exists a natural economy sector which has limited access to markets.

As such, the typical characteristic of the economy of the transition period we have embarked upon is that it consists of these different and antagonistic forms of ownership, and this situation is the basis for the contradictions that may arise in the economic as well as in the political spheres. The contradictions will manifest themselves in the struggle waged between those who stand for socialist ownership and those who, in opposition to this, stand for private ownership.

The effective completion of the transition period is possible only through the policy which the WPE, based on the scientific concept of the class struggle, formulates with respect to this historical period. And the basic objective of this policy is:

- Accelerating the development of the productive forces and building a national economy which will be characterized by independence from the world capitalist market and division of labour, and by pronounced internal complementarity and structural interdependence.
- Ensuring in all economic spheres the expansion and dominance of socialist production relations which create favourable conditions for the development of the productive forces; and bringing this about by expanding socialist economic organization and a socialist management system.
- Raising, through this process, the standard of living and cultural level of the working people which is the fundamental objective of the construction effort.

In conjunction with formulating the administrative strategies required for the implementation of its policy, the Party will ensure its reinforced ideological and political leadership over the executive organs.

1. Laying down the Necessary Material and Technical Basis for Socialist Construction by Developing the Productive Forces.

The long-term objective of the WPE's policy is to raise the share of the industrial sector in the gross domestic production to a high level by accelerating the development of the productive forces and thereby lay down the material and technical basis for socialist construction. The development priorities to be formulated in order to reach this stage of development must be based on the current level of development of the economy.

At present, about 85% of the labour force deployed in production is engaged in the agricultural sector. However, the productivity of the large labour force engaged in agriculture is still very low. Unless this situation is rapidly changed, agriculture,

which is the basis of the country's development, cannot generate the productivity which would act as a springboard for the development of the economy. The food grains, industrial raw materials, and export products needed for development can be obtained only if the agricultural sector can be organized in a manner that will enable it to attain this level of growth and if it is equipped with modern technology. Therefore, under the objective conditions in which we find ourselves, the order of development priorities must take agriculture as its base, and development efforts have to focus on raising the productivity of this sector.

To say that the agricultural sector is the basis of the medium and short-term strategy of the economic policy of the Party is not to pose the issue as agriculture versus industry in the sense of "agriculture first, industry later", but only to indicate that in the current objective conditions of our country, agriculture will serve as the basis for the complementary development of the two sectors. Therefore, although the WPE's medium and short-term economic development policy is based on the agricultural sector, it will, by expanding certain branches of heavy industry which will make available the means of production necessary for the agricultural as well as for the other economic sectors, produce consumer goods by transforming the structure of the economy step by step, give due attention also to the development of industry.

The other sector of priority for accelerated overall economic development, especially for the expansion of industry and the improvement of the living standard of the working people, is the energy sector. Unless energy, particularly electric power, is made available in advance, investment plans in other sectors cannot materialize.

The capability for exploring, prospecting and developing mining resources is decisive for the development of the economy as a whole and for the development of the industrial and construction sectors in particular. Therefore, in the sphere of materi-

al production, great attention will be given to prospecting and developing mining resources. Since the development of the country's economy is determined by its construction capability, it is necessary to give due attention to this sector. Therefore, appropriate measures will be taken to develop construction capability and to improve its organizational setup.

In general, the WPE's economic policy is based on attaining accelerated and balanced development in agriculture, industry, energy, mining and construction. Attention will also be given to the development of trade, transport and communications, since these sectors cannot be conceived apart from the material production sectors.

The endeavour of construction being undertaken in the sphere of material production in order to accelerate the growth of the productive forces will be based on the utilization of the natural resources of the different regions of the country and will focus on the attainment of a balanced regional distribution of the productive forces. In general, the economic policy of the Party seeks to ensure the existence of strong economic ties between the urban and rural areas as well as between the border areas and the central regions. Furthermore, it will ascertain that the linkages between the different sectors of the economy enable the building of a strong national economy.

On the basis of this general strategy of economic development, the WPE has formulated the following policies for each sector of the economy.

A. Agriculture

An accelerated development of the agricultural sector is vital for eliminating the shortage of food grains and attaining self-sufficiency in food supply, for ensuring a reliable supply of raw materials for industrial development, and for generating the required accumulation for economic construction.

In order to attain such a high level of agricultural productivity, it will be necessary to change the agriculture of the country into modern and large scale farms stage by stage by changing its production organization and technological basis. In view of this, the strategy designed to accelerate the development of agriculture will be based on the expansion of state farms and the strengthening of the task of organizing the scattered peasant farms into producers' cooperatives.

By organizing the agricultural sector for a high level of production and by strengthening socialist production relations in the rural areas in order to prevent the emergence of capitalism and, in this process, to improve the peasant's standard of living significantly, great attention will be given to the expansion of producers' cooperatives. On this basis, the growth of producers' cooperatives will in general be guided by a strategy of integrated rural development by selecting localities suitable for the expansion of producers' cooperatives and by consolidating those which will concentrate, as appropriate, on specific products. And this strategy of integrated rural development will ensure the coordinated provision of the technological, economic and social services necessary for raising the productivity of the producers' cooperatives. The necessary measures will be taken to provide cooperatives with the required improved instruments of production such as tractors and combines on credit purchase arrangements for those that can afford it, or on a rental basis for those that have not attained such levels of development, and to expand repair and maintenance services in the rural areas.

Measures will be taken to raise the productivity of producers' cooperatives significantly, to extend the supply of improved seeds and pesticides and similar services, to introduce improved farming and management methods on the basis of research findings, and also to extensively utilize irrigation schemes in order to free the peasantry from the cruel vagaries of nature.

In order to progressively transform the lives of members of producers' cooperatives, they will be grouped in villages and be provided with economic, social and technical support so that they may obtain potable water, electricity, health, education and other social and economic services.

The expansion and strengthening of state farms is of paramount importance for the large-scale production of necessary raw materials both for domestic industry and exports, for providing an adequate supply of improved seeds and other services required for raising the productivity of the peasantry, and to serve as models for the expansion of producers' cooperatives. In view of this, appropriate measures will be taken to improve the management and administration of existing state farms and to substantially increase their productivity, as well as to expand state farms in the valleys and other suitable regions by carrying out adequate soil and economic studies.

At present, up to 94 per cent of the agricultural production in our country comes from private farms. In order to ensure increased agricultural productivity in the short run, extension services will be provided to improve the obsolete farming practices of peasants who farm individually, to acquaint them with modern farming methods and to enable them to raise their productivity. Measures will be taken to ensure that the services provided to raise the productivity of the peasants who farm individually help them to organize, step by step, under producers' cooperatives.

The development of livestock and fishery resources as well as the production of fruits and vegetables will have a prominent role to play not only in eliminating the shortage of food and nutritional imbalances, but also in increasing the availability of export commodities, for the acquisition of technology and for the creation of additional employment opportunities. Therefore, in order to develop at a high level livestock and livestock products as well as the production of fruits and vegetables and to enhance the contribution of this branch to the development of

the national economy, modern livestock raising programmes will be expanded on state farms and producers' cooperatives and the production of vegetables and fruits will be undertaken on an expanded scale in appropriate localities.

In order to develop the country's fishery resources along with the strengthening of state fishery development organizations, measures will be taken to enable private fishermen to raise their production by being organized into producers' cooperatives and by using improved instruments and methods of production.

Since our country possesses vast untapped potential in food crops and in other spheres of agriculture as well as in livestock and fisheries, in order to utilize these properly to promote the agricultural sector into a high stage of social production, and by gradually changing our export raw materials into manufactured goods to strengthen the accumulation capability at the national level, agro-industrial sectors will be expanded and strengthened.

The settlement pattern in most of our country's regions not being in balance and harmony with natural resources, there is high population density in some areas while in others vast natural resources remain untapped due to low population density. Measures will be taken to accelerate our social development and make our settlement pattern more rational by correcting the imbalance between population distribution and the exploitation of natural resources. In this connection, attention will be given especially to those of our people who inhabit regions with more conspicuous problems and those that have been repeatedly hit by drought.

In our overall struggle to build a socialist society, it is extremely important to give particular attention and make special efforts to unify and integrate the life of the nomadic population with the country's economy. In view of this, it is among the primary tasks of the Revolution to settle the nomadic population in

a manner appropriate to their level of development and improve their livelihood by organizing them into cooperatives. Measures will therefore be taken to bring about changes in and integrate the economic life of the nomadic and border peoples with the economy of the central regions.

Among the reasons accounting for the backwardness of our country is the inadequate attention given to the conservation of our agricultural and natural resources—forestry, wild life, soil and water. Our forestry resources which a century ago covered up to 40 per cent of the total land surface, are estimated to be no more than 4 per cent at present. The depletion of forestry resources in this manner is the main reason for the wastage of the country's soil and water resources. In addition, the peasants' outdated farming methods have aggravated the depletion of our agricultural natural resources. In general, the process of depletion of our agricultural natural resources, coupled with global climatic changes, has contributed to a large extent to the drought that has hit us repeatedly.

That our country which only a few years back used to be noted for being endowed with vast agricultural natural resources, is today being alarmingly desertified is obvious. Therefore, inasmuch as the implementation of the programmes we have formulated for accelerating our country's development, and especially for attaining self-sufficiency in food as a matter of priority and improving the standard of living of the society depend on the protection and development of our agricultural natural resources, the WPE will give high priority to the protection and care of forestry, wild life, soil and water resources. To this end, together with the strengthened effort that should be made by the government to systematically preserve, manage and develop forestry resources, due attention will be given to designing and implementing a programme in which all the citizens of the country will participate unreservedly.

In order to avoid the harmful effects of droughts and to properly utilize our rivers, lakes and also rain water, measures

will be taken to enable the working people, especially peasants, to combine their efforts for the construction of dams and the harnessing of rivers, to rehabilitate their environment, to improve their livelihood and to develop water resources. Together with this, measures will be taken to improve the peasants' farming methods by expanding terracing with the objective of protecting and developing the country's soil resources.

Due attention will be given to increasing the role of state and mass organizations in securing a national grain stock adequate for withstanding problems that could be created by natural and man-made calamities.

B. Industry

At our present stage of development, our objectives in the industrial sector will focus on making available to the broad masses basic consumption goods in sufficient quantities, the production of capital goods for agriculture and other sectors of the economy, the laying down of the foundation for the expansion of heavy industry, and the production in quality and quantity of commodities for external markets. In order that these objectives may be realized, small manufacturing establishments producing consumer goods will be expanded and, together with this, measures will be taken step by step to lay the foundation for building heavy industry by establishing enterprises producing certain capital goods and spare parts. The production organization of the handicraft industry, at present characterized by low levels of productivity, will be transformed to higher levels through the expansion of producers' cooperatives by providing them with raw materials, better machinery and equipment, and ensuring that they get better training, credit and marketing facilities in order to enable them to raise their output.

C. Energy

In order to satisfy the energy requirements which grow in proportion to the increase in family consumption consequent on

the development of the economy, and to meet adequately the demand of the different sectors of the economy, attention should be given to the development of energy resources. In this regard, an energy policy that, above all, will enable the country to make effective utilization and proper management of available natural resources will be drawn up and implemented along with the substitution of modern and renewable forms of energy for traditional and backward ones. In the formulation of such a policy, particular emphasis will be given to the proper management of existing stations, the establishment of large hydro and geothermal stations and the expansion of small-scale and medium-sized energy projects. This endeavour will not be limited to the urban areas; the supply of electricity will, as resources permit, go hand in hand with a programme of villagization in particular in conjunction with irrigation works, so that the endeavour enables the expansion of electricity in the rural areas.

D. Mining

Accelerating the development of mineral resources is decisive for creating a dependable foundation for the building of socialist industry. Since this sector, by its very nature, requires advanced technology, enormous investment and highly skilled manpower, it has not so far yielded any significant results. From now on, however, it will be given particular emphasis, in view of the decisive role it plays in our development efforts. In light of this, together with expanding and introducing improved methods for the development of those minerals such as gold and platinum which are already under development, geological prospecting and research will be stepped up with emphasis on iron ore, petroleum and natural gas, and the development of ferrous and non-ferrous metals.

E. Construction

The proper organization and expansion of construction capability is vital for ensuring the implementation of programmes de-

signed for an accelerated growth of the productive forces. In view of this, the country's design and construction capacity will be developed in order to implement the construction programmes that will be planned for the various economic sectors.

The production of construction materials will grow in step with the demand of the construction sector, and projects for the production of construction materials will be based on locally available materials and will gear their production to the required quality and quantity.

In order to accelerate the development of the construction sector, measures will be taken to enable it to use modern technology and productive techniques, that is, appropriate measures will be taken to gradually organize construction activities in the form of an industry.

F. Transport and Communication

Since the practical realization of plans and projects in the various economic sectors is largely determined by the contribution of transport and communication, the degree to which this sector is equipped to provide the services required of it has an important effect on the national economy in general. Therefore, appropriate attention will be given to the expansion of transport and communication facilities within the framework of the endeavour for the overall development of the productive forces.

Along with the expansion of the transport and communication infrastructure for more efficient and dependable services measures will be taken to link strategic regions of the country, especially by means of a reliable and highly cost-reducing railway transportation network on the one hand, and by expanding domestic air transport services, on the other.

Measures will be taken to enable the infusion of modern technological practices into the country's internal and international transport and communication network in order to expand the country's air and sea transport, as well as telecommunication and postal services.

For a more efficient utilization of bus and truck services, and in particular to expand and strengthen urban public transportation in a manner consonant with our country's level of development, appropriate strategies will be worked out and a proper selection of means of transportation will be made. In order to establish the supremacy of social ownership in transportation, and for the better organization and management of transport services, due attention will be given for the planning of systems and their implementation.

G. *Trade*

Trade is a sector in which the worker-peasant alliance is expressed concretely and also has an important role in accelerating the development of the national economy, but only if it is organized along socialist lines and if it provides services that benefit the working people in the proper manner. Therefore, measures will be taken to ensure the proper exchange and distribution of goods, the maintenance of stable prices, the expansion of the socialist content of the trade sector, and gradually to develop the share of state and public trade enterprises

Since import-export trade has a great effect in determining the direction of the country's trade and increasing the State's accumulation capability and since it has a significant influence on the national economy in general, it will be placed entirely under state control. Appropriate measures will also be taken to ensure that domestic wholesale trade is put under the complete control of state trading organizations: this being the focus of the efforts for directing trade along socialist lines. Particularly concerning the more critical area of the wholesale trade of grains, public distribution enterprises will be strengthened, and for the realization of their efforts a direct contractual commodity exchange system with producers will be instituted so that the share of public enterprises will grow and that they may run it entirely.

Th effort to strengthen the socialist content of trade can yield the desired benefits if it is possible to organize retail trade in such a way that it is free from exploitation. Accordingly, considerable attention will be given to strengthening and expanding the participation of state retail trade institutions, the shops of mass organizations and service cooperatives, and to render their services more efficient. Coupled with this, attention will be give to the inevitable existence of the private sector for some time to come by subjecting it to a regime of strict price control.

Special attention will be given to controlling the price of food grain and industrial products more forcefully and effectively in the light of the purchasing power of the working people, producers' costs and their interest in increasing productivity. On this basis, a more efficient, non-inflationary and balanced distribution, particularly of basic consumption goods, will be carried out, taking into account population density, demand, levels of income, cultural and other environmental factors.

Economic and administrative measures will be taken to strengthen trade links between the country's border areas and central regions, to control contraband trade, to ensure the availability of essential commodities at reasonable prices, as well as finding reliable markets for the products of the inhabitants of border regions.

H. *Manpower Training*

The development targets set for the various economic sectors can be attained only if there is a broadening of the horizon of knowledge, an improvement in the professional level, and an increase in the productivity of the worker, who is the leader of the development effort.

Economic institutions will be required to devise and implement long and short-term training programmes with a view to improving the professional competence of the working people and raising their productivity by familiarizing them with the

constantly accelerating changes in technology. On the other hand, since the preparation of competent cadres for economic management through regular training programmes is decisive, attention will be given to expanding and strengthening management training institutions which will produce such cadres in large numbers and will undertake research in the science of economic management. Together with this, a system for ensuring that work assignments are conducted in a manner consonant with profession and experience will be designed and implemented.

I. Developing Capital Accumulation Capability

Along with the working out of a correct development orientation designed to enhance the growth of the productive forces and to lay down the material and technical basis for socialism, it is also appropriate to indicate the measures required for enhancing the economy's accumulation capability, which is a prerequisite for the attainment of these goals.

Enhancing accumulation capability is of decisive importance for establishing new industries, for introducing modern technology into agriculture, construction, transport and communications, for developing energy and mineral resources, and for the development of other infrastructures on a wide scale. Our current stage of development is such that the size of accumulation that can be generated by curtailing consumption is limited; therefore, in order to produce the accumulation capability necessary for enhancing the growth of the productive forces, there is no alternative to raising the productivity of the working people. In conjunction with raising productivity, it is also necessary to take steps that will enable increasing government revenue, reducing expenditures, and enhancing accumulation capability. Accordingly, in order to enhance internal accumulation capability, appropriate financial and credit policies will be designed and implemented.

Since the effort to boost domestic accumulation in the current context is largely a question of increasing the state budget,

due attention will be given to ensuring that most of the state budget is economically and efficiently utilized for economic and social development, that the state structure does not entail expenditure beyond the country's means, that wastefulness in its various forms is checked, and that inappropriate expenditures are cut down.

Since the major sources of accumulation are the production, distribution and service enterprises under state control, appropriate measures will be taken to raise their efficiency and thereby their profitability in order to increase the state sector's contribution to accumulation side by side with the transformation of the production relations.

Since our capability for obtaining the technology we require to develop our productive forces is determined by our capacity to earn foreign exchange, considerable attention will be given to increasing in quantity and quality the products that we supply to external markets. Therefore, strengthened measures will be taken to raise our foreign exchange reserves by taking economic and administrative measures that would help in producing, collecting and marketing export commodities in quantity and quality.

The strengthening of the tourism sector is one among the strategies to be formulated in order to develop accumulation capability, and especially to earn foreign exchange. Accordingly, measures will be taken to enable the proper maintenance of historical relics and sites that are tourist attractions and the provision of comprehensive services to tourists.

Another matter that will be given attention in order to develop accumulation capability is formulating an appropriate credit policy. Accordingly, it will be ensured that the domestic credit system is organized and managed in such a way as to encourage the productivity of state economic enterprises, to improve their financial standing, to strengthen weak enterprises

and in general to develop and strengthen the state and public economic sectors.

In addition, measures will be taken to enhance the development of saving habits at the family and cooperative levels.

J. *External Economic Relations*

Relative to the short and medium-term goals of our development effort, the accumulation that can be generated from domestic sources is insufficient for developing the requisite accumulation capability. Therefore, the effort to be made in this direction should encompass what can be acquired from external sources as well.

External economic relations based on the so-called international economic order structured within the framework of the neo-colonialist system of imperialism cannot disengage backward countries from underdevelopment. Since the cause of their underdevelopment is basically this external economic relationship which has subordinated them to imperialism, it cannot serve as a basis for their economic transformation. Under the objective conditions prevailing in our country, unless we effectively break away from the subordination inherited from the old order, we cannot build a strong national economy and lay down the material and technical basis for socialism. Therefore, the WPE will energetically strive for the creation of conditions favourable for the establishment of new external economic relations.

These new economic relations are more specially linked to the world socialist market and division of labour which is free from exploitation. In our present stage of development, it is only if we proceed by strengthening these new relations that we can effectively bring about the transfer of technology and know-how indispensable for our development effort.

The effort to build an independent and strong national economy will be successful through the instrumentality of this new

type of foreign economic relations, which will enable us to counteract the negative influence of the world capitalist market on domestic production activities. Establishing economic relations free from the influence of the world capitalist market and division of labour makes possible the designing of a fiscal and monetary policy free from the influence of the financial institutions of the capitalist world. Such a fiscal and monetary policy, which is independent of the fluctuations of the world capitalist market and other influences, ensures the implementation of the plan for economic development. In addition, it is indispensable for the completion of the transition to socialism by contributing significantly to strengthening the socialist sector of the national economy and laying down the material and technical basis for socialism.

Based on this fundamental idea, every effort will be made to further harmonize our external economic relations with our economic and social policy. In order to create conditions which link our external economic relations closely to the world socialist market and division of labour, the country's relations with the socialist countries in the fields of trade, science and technology and financial and technical cooperation will be deepened.

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On the basis of our relation with the world socialist market and division of labour, appropriate measures will be taken to establish and strengthen a system that would enable the direct exchange of goods and payment in kind for technology.

Since our economy is part of the world economy, our country's relations with other countries will continue so that we may import the raw materials and technologies which are appropriate to our economic development and are not produced in our country. Accordingly, measures will be taken to enhance the expansion of economic relations based on equality, cooperation and goodwill and mutual advantage. Methods will be devised to ensure that the monetary and market fluctuations that may be generated by

such a relationship do not obstruct efforts to stabilize domestic production activities.

In a similar manner due attention will be given to further expanding and strengthening economic cooperation with developing countries in general, and with neighbouring countries in particular.

In addition to this, the WPE's policy of external economic relations will promote the world-wide struggle to replace the capitalist world market and division of labour, which has stifled the development of backward countries, by the new economic order.

2. Strengthening Socialist Production Relations and the System of Economic Management

A major aspect of socialist production relations is that the relationship people have with the means of production is based on equality, and not on exploitation. The other aspect of these production relations is that their development is governed by objective economic and social laws and that it is necessary to develop scientific economic management on the basis of a correct understanding of these laws.

The major laws of economic and social development which govern socialism are:

- the law of harmonizing the content of production relations with the social character of the productive forces;
- the law of steadily increasing labour productivity;
- the law of guiding the national economy on the basis of socialist economic management and planning;
- the law of satisfying the material and cultural requirements of the working people through continued labour productivity.

When elaborated, these laws of economic and social development include the organization of labour appropriate to socialist ownership, appropriate accounting and auditing; implementing the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work"; using appropriate material and moral incentives; working out a comprehensive plan; strengthening the participation of the broad masses in plan formulation, implementation and control; observance of planning discipline; observance of the principle of democratic centralism in economic management; basing the operation and interrelationship of economic enterprises on the principle of collective leadership and individual accountability; the existence of strong work discipline; economic and appropriate utilization of budget; and raising the social consciousness of the working people.

Based on this fundamental understanding, attempts have been made in the course of our Revolution to apply the new system of economic management required by the change in the production relations. The major aspect of socialist economic management is the guidance of economic activities on the basis of a central plan. To realize this, the measures taken to establish a central and regional planning framework, to strengthen the planning and programming capacity of development agencies, to establish regional planning offices, and to improve methods of plan coordination are measures that have laid the foundation for guiding and managing the national economy scientifically. And since the working people are organized along various lines, suitable conditions have been created for enhancing their participation in economic management and control.

Parallel with the uninterrupted effort to accelerate the development of the productive forces, it is of decisive importance to progressively ensure the development of socialist production relations and the setting up of a system of efficient economic management. Accordingly, the following measures will be taken:

- a. By strengthening central and regional planning, the working people will participate in the process of plan preparation and implementation, according to the required manner and extent, on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. Measures will be taken to enable the establishment of statistical services that will make possible the preparation of periodic plans and the control of their implementation in a scientific manner. To help control plan implementation and the observance of planning discipline, the periodic plans will be formulated in the form of laws.
- b. The fundamental objective of the measures to be taken in connection with scientific economic management is that of implementing the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." For the implementation of this principle, scientific criteria of work performance should be applied and payment should be made on the basis of the quantity and quality of work done.

An orderly system of wages and related payments that ensures that each working person receives remuneration commensurate with his labour contribution, that enables the measurement of the difficulty and character of different jobs and that makes it possible to establish direct ties between wage increment and productivity will be devised and implemented. A system will be established for working out and implementing a strategy that encourages enhancing the creative potential and productivity of those engaged in material and spiritual production and that permits the setting up of uniform indices of work and payment.

- c. A major aspect of socialist economic management is the guidance of social production according to the principle of democratic centralism. In order to make

this practical, measures will be taken to enable the working people, through their organizations, to participate in the preparation and execution of plans drafted by the government for the country's economic, social and cultural development. In addition, adequate conditions suitable for the direct participation of the working people in production management will be created.

Since the observance of plans, guidelines and discipline in the work process, and the delineation of collective and individual responsibility in all fields of activity is a tested and viable means for the achievement of good results, the effective realization of this condition will be ensured.

- d. It has been practically tested and proved that the development of socialist emulation is of great assistance to the general development effort within the overall endeavour to institute a system of socialist economic management. Therefore, measures will be taken to promote emulation between individuals, production departments, factories and industries and to ensure that those who show superior performance receive due remuneration.
- e. Fighting against the problems inherited from the old system, such as squandering the country's resources and public property, violating state and party directives, incompetent management, bureaucratic red tape, bribery and living beyond one's means, foot-dragging, and living off the labour of the productive portion of society and similar activities, through strengthened state and public control is not only one aspect of socialist economic management, but also makes an important contribution towards strengthening socialist economic relations. Therefore, steps will be taken to strengthen and expand the organizational net-

work of the working people's control committees, which make important contributions towards establishing justice in economic management and eliminating inefficiency and wastefulness. Together with this, measures will be taken to expand and strengthen the system of state control. Administrative, legal and other necessary measures will be taken to ensure efficiency and success in economic management by instituting scientific accounting, improving the registration, safeguarding and utilization of property, by managing the socialist property economically and on the basis of profit and loss accounting, and by establishing the relationship between enterprises on a legal basis.

- f. Since capitalist and petty commodity production based on private ownership holds a significant share in the national economy, the WPE's economic policy will give due attention to this sector. Accordingly, capitalist operation and know-how will be utilized in spheres to be decided by the party, subject to state control and guided within the framework of the national plan. The peasant and handicraft sectors, which are components of the petty commodity production sector so widespread in the private economic sphere, will be integrated step by step, into the cooperative sector in accordance with the WPE's strategic objective of strengthening socialist economic relations.

While the other widespread feature of private ownership encompasses retail trade, small hotels and restaurants as well as other minor production and service units, the activities of private capital deployed in this sphere will continue during the transition period subject to strengthened state and public control.

P A R T F I V E

THE PARTY'S POLICY IN RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

The fundamental objective of the struggle we have embarked upon to build a new social system is that of extricating our country from poverty and advancing it on to a higher stage of development. The main feature of the building of this new social system is the fact that the endeavour to accelerate economic development is closely linked with the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the broad masses. And the concrete guarantee for the supremacy of the new system is the improvement of the standard of living of the broad masses. Hence, the major emphasis in the formulation of development policies in the various spheres in the process of development will be laid on the growth of the standard of living of the broad masses.

A low standard of living is particularly glaring in the rural areas of our country where 85 per cent of the population reside. The improvement in the standard of living of these working people is closely linked with the development of the agricultural sector, which is the basis of their existence. Inasmuch as the Revolution has freed the peasants from feudal exploitation, the improvement in their income depends on their own effort to increase production. This being the case, with the assurance of their ownership of land, their standard of living has also improved.

A rise or improvement in the standard of living cannot be achieved solely by increases in output or income. A rise in the standard of living requires, in addition to increases in income, the adequate provision of services that are essential for improved social life, such as education, health, potable water, electricity, communications, and other similar services. Arising from this objective condition, it is a highly necessary pre-requisite to coordinate the efforts of the peasantry on large cooperative

farms and to settle them in villages in order to expand these services in rural Ethiopia. Therefore, the strategy of accelerating change in the rural areas, with respect to changes in relations of production, will hold top priority in the ongoing struggle to free the lives of the rural population from backwardness, and in general to lay a reliable foundation for socialist construction.

Also, in order to transform the life of the masses of working people engaged in the handicrafts sector, the correct method is to implement the strategy formulated with respect to the peasantry, that is, taking measures that will change their production organization and raise their productivity.

With respect to the standard of living of workers and other wage earners, the setting, at the beginning of the Revolution, of the minimum wage level for government employees and for those enterprises put under state control along with the creation of suitable conditions for the applicability of the same wage scale in the private sector, as well as the reduction in house rent have made it possible to raise the income of low-wage earners in particular. In the proclamation issued to uphold the rights of the worker, in addition to his right to work and pension being guaranteed, the promulgation in a partisan manner of the right to get equal pay for equal work, to annual leave, to maternity leave, to medical and education leave and other rights of workers to organize and bargain have laid the foundation for ensuring the improvement of the standard of living and the attainment of a fuller life for the workers. In this connection, concrete measures have been taken to improve the standard of living of the working people by expanding educational opportunities, and by providing free health services to those who cannot afford them, as well as by extending other social services. Although serious effort has been made to improve the standard of living of the wage-earning sector of the society in this manner, the level of improvement could not be realized to the extent desired due to the successive problems which confronted the economy. The failure to attain an accele-

rated growth in production and especially, the failure to raise the agricultural output of the peasantry to match the demand of the urban population, as well as the difficulties encountered in the systematic management of the exchange and distribution of commodities, and the ensuing inability to exercise control over the inflation manifested within the economy have had an impact on the growth of the standard of living of the working people.

Unemployment is the other feature through which the low standard of living that is observable in urban areas is manifested. Although priority has been given to this problem since the beginning of the Revolution, its seriousness is still glaringly observable because of the deplorable legacy of the old order and the fact that the job opportunities resulting from the development of the economy do not match the growth in manpower in either quantity or quality.

The basis for the improvement of the life of all the working people is the growth of the productive forces, and especially the growth of the productivity of the working people. Since the distribution of production is free from exploitation and is based on the fulfillment of the basic requirements of the members of society in a social system where most of the means of production are under state and public control, the solution to our problems and the improvement of the living standard of the working people themselves is the acceleration of economic development. Therefore, the raising of the working people's income, the elimination of unemployment, the resolving of various problems and the improvement of the life of the society is determined by the Party's economic policy, and in particular the implementation of the development strategy for agriculture, which is the core of this policy. Based on this strategic policy, the WPE will give priority to the implementation of the following major policies in order to improve the standard of living of the people and to eliminate social problems.

1. *Eliminating Unemployment*

Our objective is to advance towards a social system in which every citizen's right to work is guaranteed. But since unemployment is a major impediment to development in our current state of transition, it is necessary to give special attention within our general development effort to resolving this problem.

In our present stage of development, it is difficult to resolve the problem of unemployment within a short period of time by relying merely on the industrial service sectors; therefore, all citizens who are ready to work and thereby help themselves and participate in the development effort of the country will be deployed in the agricultural sector, especially by expanding modern settlement programmes and small scale industries. On the other hand, special measures will be taken to establish vocational training institutions for the youth who leave school without acquiring specialized training, and especially for alleviating the employment problems of women. For those who, due to prolonged unemployment, are trapped in different social evils such as prostitution and vagrancy, an integrated programme of rehabilitation, training, and employment will be devised and implemented so as to extricate them from this cruel life and to deploy them in productive work.

Since the measures that will be taken to resolve the problems of unemployment, prostitution, vagrancy and social evils in general have to be coordinated with the control of the deployment of the country's manpower, a strategy will be formulated and implemented to centrally guide manpower allocation to state, private, and public organizations and to channel, according to plan, manpower mobility between urban areas, from rural to urban areas, and from urban to rural areas in consonance with the manpower requirements of each locality.

2. *Expanding Housing Construction and Strengthening Urban Development*

One of the basic conditions for the improvement of the standard of living of the working people is the alleviation of the housing problem and the strengthening of urban services. Since urban land and extra houses were put under state and public control after the outbreak of the Revolution, suitable conditions have been created for the balanced development of cities and for the expansion of housing construction. On this basis, numerous housing units have been constructed by the government, by urban dwellers' associations, by housing cooperatives and by individuals. Measures have been taken to guide the development of towns in a systematic way and to improve their provision of services. Nevertheless, because of the high rate of population growth in the major urban areas, as well as the huge amount of investment required to expand housing construction, it has not been possible to adequately meet the housing and urban service requirements of the working people. Therefore, to alleviate the problem, it is necessary to take appropriate measures to strengthen the efforts being made by the state, by cooperatives, and by individuals in this regard.

A general housing policy will be formulated and implemented for promoting housing construction, for delineating clearly the share and direction of emphasis of the state, of cooperatives and of individuals, as well as for creating necessary conditions for the strengthening and expansion of housing construction. Since the improvement of the infrastructure of towns is an essential condition for strengthening the efforts of the state and the society to accelerate housing construction, steps will be taken to prepare master plans for those towns which do not have them, and to expand the provision on a large scale of electricity, potable water, communications and other services in towns.

Suitable conditions for promoting housing construction will be created by organizing housing construction on an industrial

basis so that the cost of houses correspond to the country's capability, by taking into account income differences within the society and by determining the type of housing and the quality and quantity of the building materials required. Likewise, in order to improve the living condition of the peasant in rural areas, models which will enable the construction of better houses will be built by using local materials, and the peasant will be encouraged to apply them; in particular, the necessary attention will be given to support the efforts of peasants to settle in villages by providing them with extensive engineering services, lighting, potable water, education and health services etc. in an integrated manner.

3. *Expanding Health Services*

Since the outbreak of the Revolution, extensive efforts have been made to formulate and implement a comprehensive health policy catering to the needs of the broad masses. In addition to the steps taken to expand basic health services, encouraging activities have been set in motion and results achieved in imparting to the broad masses a correct perception of health through the literacy campaign, the mass media, and the efforts of health professionals. Taking into account the problem of producing the required number of health professionals at the present stage of the country's development, attempts have been made to alleviate the problem posed by the shortage of trained manpower by training a significant number of health assistants and by acquainting *kebele* health workers and traditional midwives with new and modern techniques. Tasks that are highly valuable have been accomplished with regard to expanding and strengthening programmes for the training of senior health personnel. Furthermore, one cannot underestimate the activities undertaken to check the most glaring health problems of the society by controlling the contagious diseases which were great hazards to the society by launching a programme of action for vaccination. Yet, although considerable effort has been made in this manner to expand health services in the society, the problem of caring

for the health of the working people requires greater attention because the number, distribution, and organization of health services as well as the number of health personnel are not yet commensurate with the needs of the people.

The health policy of the WPE, on the basis of the level of development of our country, is aimed at realizing the rapid dissemination of the concept of basic health care throughout the country so that the desired result will be obtained. This being so, steps will be taken to enable the establishment and strengthening of hospitals, health research institutions and laboratories with a view to extending basic health services as widely as possible, and to facing up to more serious health problems. Great attention will be given to bolster the on-going campaign to effectively control contagious diseases within a short period of time by intensifying the implementation of the programme of action for vaccination against contagious diseases.

Necessary steps will also be taken to raise the number of health centres catering to those sectors of the society which need special attention, namely mothers and children, as well as for facing up to special health problems. Together with this, especially in peasants' associations, emphasis will be given to alleviate the problems of women by establishing maternity centres and by training midwives in large numbers. Continuous efforts will be made to establish new health education institutions and to strengthen existing ones to enhance the training on a large scale of health professionals at all levels. The necessary support will be given, as far as possible, to efforts for the production of basic drugs and medical instruments domestically and for strengthening research into traditional medicine and the diffusion of the results thereof.

In conjunction with the concerted endeavour being made to rapidly ameliorate the health conditions of the working people through the expansion of basic health services, steps will be taken to foster an awareness of environmental sanitation and to control the health hazards ensuing from lack of basic hygiene

through the literacy campaign, through formal educational institutions and through the mass media.

4. *Expanding Hotel and Recreational Services*

Among the steps to be taken to improve the standard of living of the working people are the expansion of canteens (cafeterias) in places of employment and residential areas as well as the establishment of recreational centres which would enable them to relax physically and mentally and rest after working hours.

Accordingly, production, distribution and service enterprises as well as other offices will be directed to establish new canteens and strengthen existing ones to provide services as well as to expand recreational facilities at prices within the limits of the income of employees. In addition, assistance will be rendered to the working people to enable them to spend their spare time in recreational areas that impart mental refreshment and physical development; through the collaboration of mass organizations, trade unions and the state, support will be given to the working people to enable them to visit different parts of the country and to establish their own recreational centres. Moreover, measures will be taken to enable the expansion of hotel and restaurant services with a view to alleviating the problems of the working people and to making the growth of the cities more comprehensive.

5. *Strengthening Social Security Services*

Social security services embrace the security and welfare of the family and children, rendering the necessary support to those members of the society who need special assistance, as well as ensuring the payment of pensions, compensation for injury on the job, maternity welfare and similar social security services.

The major victory scored by the Revolution in the field of social security is that of guaranteeing pension, compensation

for injury on the job, medical care, maternity leave and other similar basic elements of social security to the workers who, bereft of any social security, had thitherto been exploited by private owners of the means of production. Although great effort has been exerted to alleviate the problems of those sections which fall outside the wage-earning sector and need special support, the task to be accomplished in this area cannot be underestimated in view of the vastness of the problem and the low level of our development.

In the field of social security, the WPE will give priority to the care of the children of the heroes who have fallen in battle or have been handicapped while fighting for the security of our beloved Revolutionary Ethiopia. It will ensure that the heroes who gave their lives are immortalized and that their children in particular are taken care of and brought up in an atmosphere conducive to good citizenship, and that conditions are created for their families to earn their livelihood. Those heroes who have been handicapped will not only be given proper medical attention and care but will also be enabled to participate in the development of the country and to be self-reliant in accordance with their individual capabilities. Likewise, while they are being rehabilitated, appropriate attention will be given to the welfare of their families.

The social security policy that can be formulated at our present level of development concerns, on the one hand, the wage-earning sector of the society employed in state organizations and, on the other, the section of society which, for various reasons, being outside the production process are without security and await the support of society. On this basis, the social security system that is presently operational in state organizations will be reviewed in order to formulate a scheme with which to improve and strengthen it so as to better ensure the security of the working people. Furthermore, in addition to the steps to be taken by the state, schemes which harmonize and strengthen the participation of mass organizations will be formulated

in order to alleviate and progressively solve the problems of those who are not covered by the present social security system and need the special support of the society. Appropriate attention will be given to the formulation and implementation of a scheme to provide social security coverage to peasants and handicraftsmen organized in producers' cooperatives.

P A R T S I X
THE POLICY OF THE PARTY IN THE SPHERES
OF IDEOLOGY, EDUCATION, SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND CULTURE

1. *Tasks to be Accomplished in the Dissemination of Ideology*

The guarantee for the realization of the objective of a revolution leading to socialism, and especially of a party leading this type of revolution as a vanguard, is to base its plans and activities on Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary ideology of the working class which has been attained in the course of the development of knowledge throughout the ages in the history of mankind; it integrates economic, political and social development and is without peer in its progressiveness, scientific nature and correct reflection of reality; it embodies an integrated outlook of economic, political and social development, and fights for full human dignity, humaneness and genuine freedom. Since the Great October Socialist Revolution, led by this ideology and fighting under its banner, opened up a new chapter for the attainment of genuine freedom for humanity, the resounding bell of liberation has been tolling from continent to continent, and it has been possible for many countries to successively attain their independence. The broad masses of Ethiopia, who had decided to get rid of the heavy yoke of oppression and exploitation imposed upon them by feudalism and neo-colonialism and, in its place, to wear the mantle of true freedom, have, led by Marxism-Leninism, also made the transition to a situation that is conducive for promoting their development.

Even though the struggles waged in the course of our Revolution, especially in the ideological sphere, have been complex and demanded immense sacrifices, it has been possible to gain victory over backward feudal attitudes and over bourgeois and misleading pseudo-left, petty-bourgeois tendencies.

Favourable conditions for the achievement of this victory were created particularly by the Revolutionary Government's proclamation, in the early days of the Revolution, that socialism would be the country's official guidepost, and, shortly thereafter, the proclamation of the Programme of the National Democratic Revolution, which declared Marxism-Leninism to be the guiding principle of the Revolution.

Based on this conducive situation, the measures taken to conduct the required ideological work on a large scale so that the Revolution could advance without diverging from its correct path namely, the establishment of the *Provisional Office for Mass Organizational Affairs* and the *Yekatit 66 Political School*; the efforts made to produce a large number of cadres by sending revolutionaries to socialist countries; the step taken to establish political discussion forums, the effort made to bring into the country Marxist-Leninist literature and to have some of them translated into vernaculars for mass circulation; the extensive activity carried out through literature, art, the theatre, music, etc. and the efforts made through the mass media to inspire the supporters of the Revolution for socialist objectives -- all these have made their respective contributions.

Especially after the establishment of COPWE, encouraging results have been obtained with regard to forging a unity of outlook among revolutionaries and the working people by eliminating weaknesses emanating from the hitherto existing lack of uniform working methods, and leading to more systematic work in the dissemination of ideology.

The fundamental and primary objective of the Revolution at its present stage of development being to establish the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia under the leadership of the WPE, its major tasks for the realization of this objective are: in the political sphere, to ensure the effective supremacy of the working people; in the economic sphere, to expand and streng-

then socialist production relations and to accelerate the development of the productive forces; in the field of ideology, to enhance the knowledge and cultural level of the working people and to strengthen their ideological unity. Likewise, the implementation of the principle of proletarian internationalism is to be emphasized in conjunction with these tasks. In general, the proper accomplishment of these tasks will, by giving depth to the democratic revolution, make it possible to create a viable base for socialist construction.

The class alignment prevailing at the present juncture is complex, and the struggle also reflects this feature; moreover, on the international level, the dangerous nature of imperialism's desperate activity has reached a new height due to the intensification of the struggle waged by the working class and liberation forces. In view of this, the WPE strongly believes that it is essential to carry out appropriate and intensified ideological work. It also realizes that a favourable situation exists for the success of this effort. This being so, the working people of Ethiopia, with an understanding of this objective, are struggling for its realization. Moreover, since the world socialist system has reached a superior level of development, and since the solidarity in struggle of the world revolutionary movement is growing stronger under its leadership, our Revolution has reliable friends and strong supporters.

The success of ideological work is gauged by the extent to which the supporters of the Revolution, by properly understanding the Party's policy, develop full confidence that it is promoting their fundamental interests. Therefore, a major issue that deserves considerable attention in the sphere of the Party's ideological work is to ensure that the confidence of the working people is augmented by practical demonstration. The major instruments through which the Party disseminates the ideology of scientific socialism among the broad masses being the mass media, educational institutions and various spheres of

culture, its primary task is that of coordinating their activities and leading them towards a common goal. The success of this task will be manifested through the steps taken to enable the working class and the working people in general to acquire a scientifically-based outlook, to believe in the dignity of labour, to protect state and public property, to deepen their love for the Motherland and to enhance the spirit of proletarian internationalism. In order to ascertain this, the Party's policy envisages the accomplishment of the following major tasks:

- a. Since knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism is fundamental for the realization of the objectives of our Revolution, the WPE will give priority and considerable attention to the dissemination of this theory. On the other hand, it will fight strongly against all attempts at revising or distorting Marxism-Leninism and at spreading bourgeois ideology in its various manifestations.
- b. By strengthening the methods it uses in the dissemination of theory and in its work of propaganda and agitation especially by developing the organization and quality of its organ and journal as well as by expanding various educational institutions from the junior level to the highest social science institutes, the Party will make unceasing efforts to produce on a large scale cadres in the various professions who can translate theoretical knowledge into practice by relating it to objective conditions and also staunchly struggle for socialism.
- c. Since the success of socialist construction is based upon the full and conscious participation of the working class and all the working people, ideological dissemination will be broadened and strengthened in order to uproot unscientific outlooks and backward customs and anti-socialist tendencies emanating from

private ownership in general. In addition, ideological consciousness will be deepened in order to combat the anti-socialist propaganda conducted by imperialism, reaction and internal counter-revolutionaries, and to strengthen the working people's commitment to social progress, democracy, socialism and world peace.

- d. The ability to coordinate and direct the activities of the mass media, that is, radio, the press and television, has a great impact on the success of the Party's ideological work. Therefore, they should be fully and effectively consolidated organizationally, technically, ideologically and professionally. Since the success of the task of educating, informing and entertaining that they are entrusted with is determined especially by the ideological maturity and professional competence of the professionals working in them, measures shall be taken to create suitable conditions for providing appropriate training.
- e. With regard to ideology, the WPE will see to it that the dissemination and penetration of Marxism-Leninism is conducted in a strengthened manner. On the other hand, while the right of belief will be respected, the WPE will staunchly struggle against any activity which, under cover of religion and by improperly taking advantage of the right of belief, promotes counter-revolutionary activities, thereby undermining the unity of the country and the essence and objectives of the Revolution.

2. Tasks to be Accomplished in the Qualitative Expansion of Education at All Levels.

In the struggle we are engaged in during the transition period to create the material and spiritual conditions necessary for the building of socialism, the tasks that must be carried

out in the field of education too will occupy a major place. In this regard, reliably preparing the young generation which **has the responsibility of inheriting the Revolution** and of furthering it, in terms of its outlook, thinking, commitment, knowledge, discipline, and in general in terms of its mental and **physical fortitude, is of critical importance.** The activities undertaken so far to organize and transform the form and content of the curriculum inherited from the reactionary system in a manner suitable for the building of the new society, and to expand educational opportunities are to be highly valued.

In the effort made to implement the new curriculum, millions of books have been printed locally and put into use. In conjunction with this, effort has been made, in accordance with the country's capability, not only to provide ideological education to teachers in order to prepare them better for their new responsibility in terms of their knowledge and ideological orientation, but also to train a large number of new teachers.

While most educational materials in pre-revolutionary Ethiopia used to come from the capitalist countries, significant progress has been achieved in the effort made to build the capability for self-reliance in this regard since the outbreak of the Revolution. It has especially been possible, by and large, to create the capability for producing locally the materials necessary for primary and secondary schools.

With respect to the expansion of education opportunities too, the number of schools established during the first decade of the Revolution ranging from kindergartens to senior secondary schools has increased by more than two-fold compared to the period prior to the Revolution. Parallel with this, the number of students participating in all the educational levels has increased more than three-fold.

With respect to higher education, the steps taken and the results obtained in producing in quantity and quality the professionals needed for the country's development are encouraging. In this connection, the capability to provide education has grown by about three-fold compared to what it was at the outbreak of the Revolution. Among the tasks that have been accomplished to expand and strengthen higher education in the course of our Revolution, the establishment of a graduate programme in our country for the first time, and the filling of the gap in this regard is to be highly valued.

The other factor that deserves high regard with respect to the process of expanding educational opportunities is the extensive programme laid down to eradicate illiteracy. Accordingly, in the campaign carried out between 1978/79 and the end of 1982/83 alone it has been possible to reduce the illiteracy rate among the population from 93% to about 37%. In order for the victories attained in the literacy campaign to have lasting significance, a post-literacy programme has been designed and is being implemented. The literacy campaign is being conducted in 15 languages, and the fact that over 28 million books have been printed and distributed in these languages up to 1982/83 clearly shows the extent and depth of the campaign.

Even though great efforts have been made to change the old curriculum and to expand educational opportunities, it has not been easy to raise the quality of education in a significant manner since the desire of the broad masses for education has been highly stimulated, and since it has not been possible to increase the number of schools commensurately as well as to prepare and assign a sufficient number of teachers in proportion to the growing student population. The fact that it has not been possible to provide other services also in the quality and quantity required has become a problem not to be easily overlooked. Though, on balance, most schools are under government administration, difficulties have also been encountered in put-

ting into practice the provision of uniform education because of the fact that there still exist certain schools which are run by the people and by missionaries.

The relationship between different levels of education, from literacy to higher education, has not yet assumed the proper framework. The fact that the proper complementarity and coordination has not been created between education and other economic and social sectors has also imposed an adverse influence on educational activities.

Since the qualitative expansion of education is a vital factor in the task of building a new culture and creating the new man, the shortcomings that exist in this regard must be urgently overcome. The leadership role of the working class can be strengthened, and in general the political participation of the working people broadened only when they can gain opportunities for education and research which had been denied them by the old system. In addition, it is clear that education plays no small role in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideology and in raising the revolutionary consciousness of the broad masses.

The availability of trained manpower on a large scale is of decisive importance in the process of building the new system, in view of the attention to be given to the development of the productive forces and the preparation that has to be made for making a technical revolution. The qualitative expansion of higher education is to be viewed in terms of creating the possibility of producing the necessary professional manpower. But since professional knowledge can provide effective service in the desired field only when it is buttressed by political commitment and class partisanship, the training of professionals in institutions of higher education must also be augmented by training in scientific ideology.

Even though highly significant results have been obtained in the sphere of education, certain problems that have to be eliminated are still observable; nevertheless, it is unquestionable

that in general the broad foundation that has been laid down can propel us to a higher level of development. In order to be able to build a socialist educational system on the basis of this strong foundation, the WPE will focus on the following major tasks:

- a. In order to ensure that the development and expansion of education at all levels proceeds along the appropriate line, the necessary conditions will be created for the proper accomplishment of the task of curriculum improvement and textbook preparation. Thus, the necessary effort will be made to ensure that the young generation is moulded by love of the Motherland and socialist patriotism and that in general it is brought up in such a way that it has acquired the knowledge and the physical and spiritual development necessary for the building of socialism.
- b. Through the cooperation of state and mass organizations, kindergartens and other pre-school institutions suited to the welfare and socialist upbringing of children will be expanded and equipped to render services to the children of the working people.
- c. In accordance with the objective realities of our country, unsparing effort will be made to provide all school-age children with eight years of education which will enable them to be employed after acquiring a certain level of education on the one hand, and to successively pursue their education at higher levels, on the other. In addition, special support will be given particularly to nomadic populations and those inhabiting border areas to ensure that educational opportunities reach all the citizens of the country equally.
- d. In order to fulfil the country's requirements for middle level professionals, secondary school education will be expanded in appropriate areas.

- e. Appropriate attention will be given to ensuring that the curriculum followed by institutions of higher education and the educational disciplines they offer as well as their fields of emphasis are based on the development needs of the country, that their research activities are intensified and that the ensuing results promote the building of the new system.
- f. Pertinent measures will be taken to expand and strengthen the graduate programme in such a way that it will be able to make a large contribution in fulfilling the country's needs for highly qualified manpower, and promote it to a level at which it can undertake more profound and higher quality research work.
- g. All the working people will be liberated from illiteracy through the expansion of literacy education, which is the starting point for enabling the broad masses to consciously discharge their responsibilities in the building of a socialist society by enabling them to develop their consciousness, to occupy their rightful place in the political sphere, and to raise their level of knowledge, culture and productivity.
- h. The education that is given in the classroom in limited fields is not sufficient to create a new generation that is fully humane and capable of actively participating in the building of a socialist society. Therefore, due attention will be given to formulating and implementing programmes that will enable the youth to actively participate in production, science, technology, the arts, sports, military training and other spheres; as well as to spend their leisure time in rendering services beneficial to the society, in broadening their horizon of knowledge, and in recreation.
- i. Steps will be taken that will facilitate the improvement of the quality of education by developing schools

in form and content in a manner consistent with the growth of the student population, by strengthening the training and administration of teachers, and by enabling the teaching profession to occupy its proper place in the society.

- j. To make education a major instrument for the realization of the genuine freedom of the working people by destroying the old reactionary system and building the new socialist society, all schools will be put under direct state control so that education, freed from the ideology of the exploiting classes which had characterized our society for ages, can be provided to all equally.
- k. In a manner related to the country's requirements for trained manpower, efforts will be made to offer continuing education programmes at various levels, so that the working people and professionals deployed in various fields can provide better services by upgrading their knowledge, taking into account the development of modern science and technology.

3. *Tasks to be Undertaken to Develop and Expand Science and Technology*

One of the basic conditions for successfully accomplishing the transition to socialism is the undertaking of a technical revolution. Especially for a country that arises from a backward state, the development of scientific and technical capability is not only a difficult task, but it is also multifaceted and requires great effort. It requires establishing and making use of institutions of research, dissemination and design in quantity and quality in all essential sectors. In connection with this, it is important to create conditions that enable the utilization, in an organized manner, of the findings of these institutions in the production and service sectors.

Since the country's scientists and researchers will have a great contribution to make to the success of the work of such institutions, the provision, in a concerted manner, of favourable work conditions should continue in order to enable them to fully put into practice their knowledge and experience.

In order to accelerate the development of science and technology, great emphasis must first of all be given to the provision of scientific education in a strengthened form in the regular schools and to the development of research and investigation. In order to develop science and technology extensively, a conducive system must be laid down outside of regular schooling to produce professionals in all fields and at all levels, and to develop their professional competence and political consciousness. Among the main tasks undertaken to develop capability in science and technology, it is essential to expand and effectively implement a system of data collection and distribution, to organize activities of research, dissemination and design, and to guide them in a manner coordinated with the national development plan, and to devise and implement a system for conducting a survey of technologies in order to select the appropriate ones, to put them into use properly, and to repair and maintain them.

The WPE will give great attention to the accomplishment of the following major tasks in order to develop science and technology which, though still at very low level of development in our country, have a decisive role in the building of socialism.

- a. To make it possible to conduct adequate research in the scientific and technological fields necessary for socialist construction, concerted efforts will be made to strengthen the existing research institutions in terms of organization, manpower and all necessary equipment; to establish new ones; to train, both locally and abroad, at all levels, a large number of competent intellectuals and other professionals for research and dissemination; to enable researchers get support, and to

develop their partisanship to the working people so that their research findings will have direct relevance to production.

- b. Steps will be taken to create favourable conditions that enable the provision, at all educational levels, of qualitative scientific and technological education related to the country's objective conditions and to productive activity, and to enable teachers to undertake in a strengthened manner and side by side with their teaching activities, research work relevant to the needs of the country.
- c. To develop the scientific and technological knowledge of the people and to disseminate scientific and technological information, scientific and technical exhibitions will be organized; permanent and mobile science and technology museums, libraries, archives and other facilities that will help in expanding scientific and technological knowledge will be established.
- d. Scientists and other theoreticians and research workers, by being organized in various professional associations, and the youth, by being organized in technical and task forces and various science and technology clubs, will be enabled to further develop their profession so as to raise their contribution to the building of a socialist society, and to take an active part in the dissemination of science and technology among the masses.
- e. Measures will be taken to encourage workers, members of the Revolutionary Army, intellectuals, the youth and the working people in general to develop their abilities to create new and improved working techniques and instruments, and in this connection, measures will be taken to develop socialist emulation.

4. Tasks to be Accomplished in Carrying out the Cultural Revolution in a Strengthened Manner

Bringing the means of production under state and public control and making efforts to develop the productive forces is not sufficient on its own to build a socialist society in which the exploitation of man by man ceases to exist. To build a socialist society on a reliable basis, along with the developing of the productive forces, it will also be necessary to carry out a cultural revolution in order to create the new man, who is decisive for the success of this struggle.

On the basis of an understanding of the fundamental process of socialist revolution, it has been attempted to give emphasis to the furthering of the cultural revolution in the process of our Revolution too. Ever since the directive for the building of the new culture was formulated, attempts have been made to create favourable spiritual conditions through the concrete steps taken in the political, economic and social spheres. Beginning with the first attempt made to arouse the masses against the reactionary system, immense struggle has been waged, either directly or indirectly, to organize the economic and political life of the masses in a new way; to change their outlook, thinking and belief; to broaden the horizon of their knowledge; to transform their organizational, leadership and relational practices, and to develop their political culture through the instrumentality of the mass media, discussion forums and other means.

Beyond these general efforts, a multiplicity of other measures with a direct contribution to the progress of the building of the new culture have been taken. In this regard, the ongoing literacy campaign that is being conducted to free the masses from illiteracy and to enhance their level of knowledge deserves to be mentioned first. In the field of the arts, too, much activity has been undertaken. Great changes have been observed in the content of all branches of the arts in exposing the despicable features of the reactionary system, in depicting the bright hope of the future,

and, on the other hand, in preparing the working people for the building of the new order. In particular, the extensive participation of mass organizations in artistic activities has given greater breadth to the struggle against reactionary and retrogressive customs and to the building of the new culture. The efforts made in the other spheres of culture too are not to be underestimated. The efforts made in both rural and urban areas to establish sports centres in order to expand programmes for physical training and sports among adults and the youth, and to popularize physical culture on a wide basis are also to be highly regarded.

Although tremendous effort has been made along this line to pave the way for the building of the new culture, a concerted struggle still awaits us, in view of the fact that the development of the culture we inherited had for ages been stifled by feudalism and adulterated by decadent imperialist culture; and doing away with this situation is not an easy task. Although the efforts made in different spheres of art are very extensive and encouraging, it is difficult to say that the artistic works produced so far are gratifying, be it in terms of their quality or their level of artistic creativity. Especially, limiting the products of art to immediate utility alone and failure to prepare the youth for the responsibility that awaits it by showing it the bright future in closer perspective is a glaring weakness which needs to be speedily ameliorated. The other shortcoming is the inability to make the expected drive for the development of physical culture due to the shortage of recreational centres, equipment, and trained manpower.

In order to create the necessary subjective conditions for the building of the new popular culture by removing the weaknesses observed in the sphere of culture, it will be necessary to outline strategies and tactics appropriate to the stage of development we have reached.

As is the case in all fields of development during the transition period, Marxism-Leninism is the guide for the build-

ing of the new culture as well. Therefore, the new culture is one which, by reflecting correctly the social realities of the transition period, develops subjective conditions for the building of socialism.

The new culture is one that inspires the working people with determination for the struggle against reactionary forces, on the one hand, in order to ensure that the ongoing class struggle in the transition period culminates in their victory and, on the other, for the struggle against nature. On this basis, by explaining in concrete terms the causes of the age-old oppression and exploitation, it will help the working people to rise resolutely against their internal class enemies and the international supporter of these enemies — imperialism. On the other hand, it will further strengthen the spirit of the working people in the struggle to transform themselves and their environment by foreshadowing the bright future of the new system in closer perspective and by fortifying their faith in the future.

The new culture, in order to develop the working people's scientific outlook about nature and social development, will fight against the unscientific thoughts, outlooks and beliefs of the feudal system, which are contrary to the development of scientific ideology. The new culture, by fighting against greediness, individualism, indolence, vanity, idealism and other similar vices that emanate from private ownership, will in their stead develop hardwork, self-reliance, struggle for the common welfare through common effort and similar socialist values.

The new culture, basing itself on the history of the struggle waged by the working people through the ages to safeguard their freedom and unity, will further strengthen their love for the Revolution and the Motherland. By showing that the sacrifices made to safeguard the unity and independence of the Motherland are sacrifices made for the new democratic Ethiopia which shall be free from exploitation and oppression, and in which the rights of all citizens are equally respected, the new culture will enrich

the history of the struggle of the working people with socialist partiotism. Parallel with this, by reflecting that the struggle of the working people is part of the struggle of the workers of the world, it will strengthen its proletarian internationalist stance.

Since the new culture is going to be built on the basis of the long history of our country, it will equally develop those aspects of the cultures of all nationalities which are compatible with the new system. In its democratic and national aspect, the new culture will staunchly struggle against chauvinism, narrow nationalism, as well as against imperialist cultural aggression.

To promote the development of the new culture in a strengthened manner, the WPE has formulated the following tasks:

- a. Since the archaic customs and the unscientific beliefs that are observable in the society are not only obstacles to the building of socialism, but since their harmful impacts on the thinking and health of the working people cannot be viewed lightly, measures will be taken to fight against archaic and retrogressive customs in a coordinated manner through regular schools, the literacy campaign, the mass media, agitational programmes and through all other appropriate forums. In addition, since the cultural aggression of imperialism threatens the working people's and particularly the youth's revolutionary courage and spirit of self-reliance, the task of resisting this will also be given special attention in the building of the new culture.
- b. Works of literature and art must reflect the struggle of the working people and their victory. A significant contribution is expected of them in strengthening unity and internationalism among the working people, and in general, in inspiring and organizing them for the building of the new system. They have an extensive share in creating an awareness of the dignity of labour, in enhancing work discipl-

line, in developing a tradition of frugality and honesty so as to strengthen solicitude for state and public property and, in short, in moulding the working people in socialist morality. The instrumentality of literary and artistic works for change and struggle, and their being expressions of the new morality and aesthetics will be ascertained when they can generate on a large scale works that are attractive both in their form and content. For this to materialize, the necessary steps will be taken, through the cooperation of the government and the people as well as through the major participation of the associations of the professionals themselves, to create favourable conditions for training and organization, for the expansion of artistic forums, for the availability of instruments and technical equipment in quantity and variety, and especially for the local production of such equipment.

- c. The emergence of people's writers and artists in quantity and quality is decisive for ascertaining the popular nature of literature and art as well as for promoting them to the level of development that we require. Since one way for the emergence of people's writers and artists is organizing the professionals, strengthening professional associations and giving them the necessary support for the creation of conditions favourable to them, special attention will be given to this matter.
- d. In order to advance the building of the new culture at the speed and in the quality we desire, side by side with the activities being conducted in the regular literary and artistic forums, steps will be taken to create conditions which enable the working people in the various localities to take part, through mass organizations, in the process of cultural transformation by establishing cultural centres in *kebeles*, factories, state farms, co-

operatives, schools, army units and military camps, as well as in other social and economic institutions.

- e. The new socialist man is expected to be fit not only spiritually but also physically. In view of all this, to further promote the development of physical culture, it is necessary to enlist the participation of the entire working people in both rural and urban areas. It is by thus orienting sports and physical training along a popular line that it will be possible to produce outstanding athletes and sportsmen in quantity. Based on the experiences gained so far, favourable conditions will be created especially in schools and in the Armed Forces, where the youth are found, for sports and physical training activities to be organized and undertaken on a continuous basis as well as for establishing physical training and sports clubs in rural and urban areas, in all work places and residential areas, and for enabling the working people to participate actively in their respective localities. Accordingly, appropriate measures will be taken to expand recreational centres, to train professionals in large numbers, to procure and, as far as possible, locally produce the necessary sports outfits.
- f. Since the training in both quantity and quality of cadres who are builders of the new culture in the various spheres of literature and the arts as well as in physical culture and sports is essential, steps will be taken to enable the establishment in the country of institutions for training various professionals and to enable them to render the necessary services.
- g. It is necessary to properly preserve and care for the historical treasures inherited from past generations so that the present generation, by studying and familiarizing itself with the centuries-old history of the country,

may gain from its positive aspect additional support that will be helpful for the building of the new order, and so that it may in turn be able to pass on the same to the next generation. Therefore, in order that the revolutionary youth may systematically discharge the responsibilities expected of it in this respect, special attention will be given to studies carried out in search of historical treasures and to the proper preservation of those already discovered.

- h. In order to progressively enhance the level of spiritual development that the building of a socialist society demands, the expansion of libraries, museums and reading rooms is essential; they will therefore be established in great numbers in suitable working and residential areas with the cooperation of the government and the mass organizations, since their expansion makes an important contribution to the development of the knowledge, thinking and scientific outlook of the working people.
- i. The endeavour for the development of the new culture cannot be seen separately from that for the building of a socialist society. The assistance and cooperation obtained in various areas from the world socialist system has a high value for the accomplishment of the building process we have undertaken. On this basis, since developing our relations with socialist countries is extremely important, every endeavour will be made to strengthen further the cooperation in the field of culture.

PART SEVEN

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PARTY

Since the Great October Socialist Revolution heralded the new era of transition from capitalism to socialism, imperialism's unchallenged supremacy in the world has come to an end. And this has enabled millions of people to redouble their struggle to attain independence and genuine freedom. By contrast, imperialism, consistently swept by general crises and suffering defeats, has been forced to retreat. This process has confirmed that socialism is developing while capitalism is disintegrating.

Especially since World War II, when victory was achieved over German and Italian fascism and Japanese militarism, and since the triumph of socialist revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe as well as in some Asian countries, socialism has become a worldwide system. In the struggle of peoples for genuine freedom, the development of a worldwide socialist system based on the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which marked the beginning of the new era, as well as the vast experiences of the socialist countries, have created a reliable basis for the success of revolutionary movements. A conducive international situation has thus been created for the struggle for national liberation and social freedom by oppressed and exploited peoples; and anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America have succeeded in achieving glorious victories. And this has further consolidated the strength of the world socialist system.

Since socialism stands for the well-being and development of humanity in addition to the fact that it is the leader and decisive force in the contemporary revolutionary process, and since it has gained the confidence of the democratic and peace-loving forces of the world, the international balance of forces has tilted in favour of revolutionary forces. Therefore, the struggles for social and national liberation have gained secure guar-

antees for their victory. In this day and age, no revolutionary movement can withstand the attacks of international imperialism and achieve its objectives without taking advantage of this objective situation, that is to say, without the support of the worldwide revolutionary movement, especially that of the decisive element in this process, the world socialist system. This is the law governing the revolutionary process in our times.

The success of the Ethiopian Revolution and the achievement of its goals cannot be viewed outside of this context. Therefore, the foundation of the foreign policy of the WPE, emanating from this reality, is the principle of proletarian internationalism. On the basis of this cardinal principle, the continued advance of our Revolution and the securing of the national interest of Revolutionary Ethiopia in its foreign relations must be seen in conjunction with the overall struggle for socialism and communism, for national liberation, for democracy, and for world peace.

By guiding Revolutionary Ethiopia's endeavours to make its due contribution to the world revolutionary movement, the WPE will strengthen its relations and solidarity in struggle with the world Communist and Workers' Parties, revolutionary democratic organizations and national liberation movements. On the other hand, the WPE will give special attention to the task of enabling Revolutionary Ethiopia to contribute her due share in the struggle for the abolition of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all other forms of oppression and exploitation, and enhance the defeat of imperialism.

It is well-known that the deep-rooted injustices which emanate from the major economic and political phenomena of our times and which have suppressed the full freedom and interests of the popular masses are more starkly observable in the African continent. In so far as a people which has risen in pursuit of genuine freedom cannot attain this freedom so long as other peoples still languish under the yoke of repression and exploita-

tion, the working people of Revolutionary Ethiopia cannot derive enduring satisfaction from their victories over imperialism and reactionary forces.

Therefore, our Revolution will render all possible assistance to the world revolutionary movement in general and to the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggles within the African continent in particular.

It is to be recalled that Ethiopia has maintained its independence unviolated for centuries and, in so doing, has become an example and a beacon of hope in the struggle to shake off the shackles of imperialism.

The strong sense of solidarity in struggle evident in the anti-colonialist movements since the end of the 1950's has made a considerable contribution to the achievement of independence by a large number of African countries. This spirit of solidarity has also made possible the attainment of the Organization of African Unity, which serves as the common forum of independent African states. Though the stalwart solidarity based on anti-colonialism has made significant contributions towards the political independence of many African countries, it has not continued with regard to attaining an economic development free from the influence of imperialism. Because of this, African countries which had achieved their independence with tremendous sacrifices have been, in isolation, rendered vulnerable to the pressures of imperialism. This situation has worsened the living conditions of the masses. And the drought caused by the recent global climatic changes has compounded manifold the misery of these peoples.

While the individual efforts of countries to break out of this very grave situation are important, the breadth and weight of the problem is such that we cannot face up to it individually; hence the urgent need more than ever before for a common stand for a common cause.

In this regard, some African countries have demonstrated their genuine desire and effort to cooperate in various fields. However, not only do imperialists and their lackeys sabotage the efforts of these countries and the measures they take to cooperate in their common interests, but they even attempt to bring about the disintegration of the Organization of African Unity.

That the problem which African states face today emanate largely from their inability to attain economic independence because of the pressures of imperialism is beyond question. Therefore, it is essential for these countries to renew their unity in a consolidated manner so that they can attain economic independence today just as the solidarity they displayed in the arena of the anti-colonial struggle had made their political independence possible.

There is no doubt that these states could solve their most critical problems if they pool and coordinate their natural, manpower, technical, and financial resources in all the vital spheres of development and work for mutual benefit. In this context, it is extremely essential for each country to relate its development policy with joint attempts to augment neighbourly, regional and continental mutual assistance and cooperation.

Revolutionary Ethiopia, committed to the cause of pan-African cooperation and guided by the policy of peaceful co-existence between neighbouring states, has been initiating positive proposals in this spirit since the early days of the Revolution. Just as much as Ethiopia has made unsparing contributions towards the establishment of the OAU and the safeguarding of its integrity, the WPE will pay considerable attention to ensuring that Ethiopia discharges her responsibility of creating situations conducive for the common struggle for African economic independence and development, and for the materialization of these objectives.

Since all right and "left" opportunist attempts to revise Marxism-Leninism and the propaganda against socialist countries

are vehicles for the promotion of imperialism's policy of weakening the revolutionary movements and frustrating the development of socialism, the Ethiopian Revolution will wage a determined struggle against them.

The foreign policy of the WPE, in addition to forging unity with the world revolutionary forces and reinforcing solidarity with national liberation as well as other democratic movements, and struggling for the attaining of world peace, also embraces the observance of detente and peaceful coexistence. To establish a relation of friendship with any government on the basis of respect for equality, independence, national integrity and unity is one feature of the Party's foreign policy.

With a view to translating into action our country's foreign policy, based on the objective of contributing towards strengthening proletarian internationalism, the development of socialism, the success of the world revolutionary movement, and the attainment of world peace, the WPE will ensure that the following tasks are carried out.

1. Unsparing effort will be made to further deepen the comprehensive relations and cooperation established with socialist countries in order to safeguard the gains of the Revolution and the unity of the country as well as to attain socialism in Ethiopia; and to strengthen our relations with the international working class movement, revolutionary democratic forces, national liberation movements, and other forces of democracy and peace.
2. Inasmuch as the question of peace is linked with the cardinal question of human existence itself, there is no alternative to continuing the struggle for peace by strengthening our solidarity with forces that are committed to this fundamental idea. Consequently, Revolutionary Ethiopia will make its due contribution to resisting and rendering ineffective imperialism's drive which is motivated by profits and a desire to prolong its

lease on life, to commit injustice and to subject the world to total destruction by creating tensions and provoking war.

3. **Our relations with the peoples and progressive forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America and other progressive forces directly participating in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, racism, and other forms of oppression and exploitation will be further strengthened.**
4. **Revolutionary Ethiopia will, in accordance with the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, continue to advance its policy of cooperation with all countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect as well as support for the right of countries to live under the socio-economic system of their choice.**
5. **In relations with neighbouring countries, unflagging effort will be made to realize the goals of mutual assistance and common development of peoples based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, the inviolability of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, non-interference in one another's internal affairs, resolving disputes by peaceful means, and in general on the principles of non-alignment.**
6. **While the respective policies pursued by states to solve their distinctive problems remain decisive, it is, nevertheless, of great importance to stand together for a common cause. With regard to African countries specially, it is their subjugation by imperialism which has reduced them to abject poverty. Convinced that the major reliable way for escaping from this sad condition is to stand together for their common good, Revolutionary Ethiopia will pay special attention to reinforcing regional and continental cooperation based on common interest.**

7. Revolutionary Ethiopia will participate actively in international and continental organizations which stand for world peace, independence, equality and human well-being and will contribute her due share to the success of the struggle against imperialism's machinations to use such organizations to advance its own interests or, failing this, to disrupt them.
8. Realizing the dialectical link between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, redoubled effort will be made to advance the cause of unity among peoples on the basis of the principle of proletarian internationalism and to resist the attempts made by imperialism and reactionary forces to arrest revolutionary developments by exploiting nationalist sentiments.

P A R T E I G H T

BUILDING A DEFENCE FORCE, SAFEGUARDING THE SECURITY OF THE MOTHERLAND AND THE REVOLUTION

The guarantee of the country's security both during the course of the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and afterwards when it will have been established, is the adequacy of the country's defence capability. In order to withstand and annihilate the armed attempt of the classes ousted from power to make a come-back as well as the direct and indirect attacks of imperialism, we have no guarantee other than the strengthening our defence, security and other peace-enforcing institutions.

As witnessed during the past years of bitter class struggle, the Revolutionary Army of Ethiopia and other security and peace-enforcing forces have paid immense sacrifices in the fight against the enemies of the Revolution. It was possible to secure the borders of our Motherland and safeguard the security of the Revolution because of the struggle waged to enforce peace and specially because of the heroic struggle of our Revolutionary Army, along with the participation of the broad masses. Even though protecting our Motherland and Revolution from any attack whatsoever is an honourable duty expected of all citizens, the forefront trustees in this regard as has been demonstrated thus far are our Armed Forces.

In light of the conspiracies hatched and the general tension created in our region, the building of our defence force is a matter that cannot be neglected at all. Because of this general situation, it is clear that the Ethiopian defence force should be one whose popular base is broad, which stands for the supremacy of the working class and, in general, one which struggles for and capably defends peace and socialism.

The WPE gives high regard to enhancing the defence capability of the country so as to ensure even more the invincibility

of our Revolutionary Armed Forces. The leader and commander of this defence force, whose strength and effectiveness provide the guarantee for the security of our Motherland and our Revolution is the WPE.

With regard to the measures to be taken towards the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, one major task consists in raising the standard of the Armed Forces of Revolutionary Ethiopia in terms of organization, equipment and discipline. Since the ideological and organizational work being carried out in all sections of the Armed Forces is decisive for ensuring their political, moral and military preparedness, major attention will be given to accomplishing this work and to rallying members of the Armed Forces behind the Party. Since the existence of a strict chain of command makes an important contribution towards the successful accomplishment of military objectives, a single and unified chain of command will be consolidated in the Armed Forces. The necessary attention will be given to make conditions suitable for the participation of the Armed Forces in the tasks of economic and social development, together with the enhancing of their military and political capability in times of peace.

In the building of a popular defence force, the institution of a national military service must be given high consideration. Its implementation will enable the inheritors and builders of the new system to become capable citizens moulded with the love of the Motherland, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. As our country's centuries-long national independence was maintained through the sacrifices paid by all the citizens, the new generation too has a historic responsibility of enhancing even more and putting into practice this same heritage.

Since the aim of our Revolution is to build a new society where peace, justice and equality reign, there is no alternative to the determined stand of the entire working people for the realization of this objective. For the safeguarding of the results to be obtained through this effort and in general for ensuring

the security of the Motherland, the guarantee remains to be the united force of the working people. Hence, one of the forums which provides the working people the opportunity for wide participation in defending the security of the country and the Revolution is the building of regional people's militia corps.

The WPE will ensure that all tasks will be performed to ensure that our national defence and security forces are dependable arms of the Revolution guided by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, completely loyal to the Party and the State, superior in combat readiness and ability and closely bound with the people.

P A R T N I N E

ENHANCING THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF ETHIOPIA

The Ethiopian broad masses, having been stifled under the yoke of an extremely backward and anti-democratic feudal rule and under neo-colonialism, had for long been denied the opportunity to acquire mature political experience. Hence, upon the outbreak of the Revolution, a political organization which could spearhead and co-ordinate the popular uprising could not come to the fore. Nevertheless, since the men-in-uniform provided leadership by democratically electing their representatives from different units and forming the Co-ordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, the Police and Territorial Army, the movement continued to advance and it became possible to overthrow the monarchy on September 12, 1974 and for the Provisional Military Administrative Council to take power. Since the establishment of the Provisional Military Government, the question of Party leadership has remained a central question demanding considerable attention.

Even though different groups which addressed themselves to this fundamental question put forward their own solutions and waged extensive struggles, the correct solution could not emerge easily. However, the Programme of the Ethiopian National Democratic Revolution, issued by the Provisional military Administrative Council on April 19, 1976, not only unequivocally declared the content, direction and objectives of the Revolution, but also made it clear, to friend and foe alike, that Marxism-Leninism was to be the guiding principle of the Revolution and that it should be led to its ultimate goal by a party guided by Marxism-Leninism. This state of affairs enabled genuine progressives to unite, while it drove pseudo-revolutionaries to outright anti-revolutionary activity. The anti-revolutionary activity of these same terrorists, coupled with the then prevailing aggression and reactionary assaults, cost the revolutionary forces tremendous sacrifices in blood,

life and property in facing up to that testing situation. Even during that period of crisis and urgency, the question of a vanguard party was at no moment neglected. In particular, progressives who rallied around the revolutionary cause were able to utilize the opportune circumstances created by the unflagging support of the Revolutionary Government to politicize, organize and prepare the masses for struggle, while at the same time strengthening their respective political organizations. These same organizations, having resolved to coordinate their struggles, had, in February 1977, created The Union of Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Organizations. However, this Union, which was formed by five organizations, was unable to make the desired transition from alliance to merger and of giving birth to a vanguard party. The relationships between these organizations were reflections of the economic, social and political contradictions that prevailed in the society and were especially riddled by petty-bourgeois right and "left" opportunism. As a result, instead of unity, there developed narrow organizational loyalty, arrogance, conspiracy and similar destructive tendencies, and the "alliance" gradually disintegrated.

Nevertheless, the genuine revolutionary members of the remaining three organizations of the alliance, because of their resolute and unflinching aim and commitment to the establishment of a genuine vanguard party which would provide the Revolution with the correct leadership for its enduring victory, took a resolute stand and, on the basis of this, the Provisional Military Administrative Council established by proclamation the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working people of Ethiopia (COPWE) on 8 December 1979. COPWE, which started its activities in June 1980 by bringing together individuals on the strength of their revolutionary contributions under the central leadership of our Revolutionary Leader, Comrade Mengistu Hailemariam, who has been entrusted with the confidence of the Ethiopian working people and genuine revolutionaries, paved the way for a reliable and new strategy of party formation.

COPWE, right from its inception, has been implementing the fundamental principle of organization and leadership of a Leninist Party of the New Type, with due cognizance of Ethiopia's objective conditions. In its style of work COPWE followed the principle of democratic centralism, though, because it was organized from the centre down due to the objective conditions, this dictated the dominance of centralism.

Having ascertained the appropriateness of the Programme of the Ethiopian National Democratic Revolution proclaimed by the Revolutionary Government, and having adopted it as its own basic document, COPWE issued rules for the implementation of the programme as well as for laying down its own organizational structure with the Congress as its supreme organ, and at the central level it set up the Central Committee and the Executive Committee. For the realization of its objectives in various localities, in addition to setting up regional and, in key areas, provincial and district committees, it also established primary organizations in various places.

Although COPWE's main mission was to organize the Party, it also served as a forum through which extensive experience in party work was accumulated. The experience gained through COPWE's efforts in disseminating Marxism-Leninism, in expanding organizational network in appropriate areas of work and residence and in organizing, strengthening and leading mass organizations and professional associations, is to be highly regarded. In addition, as regards COPWE's relations with the state, concrete lessons have been learned in the conduct of party-state relations.

In the field of ideology, besides making use of various forums, COPWE has made use of its central organ, *Serto Ader*, its theoretical journal, *Meskerem* and, whenever necessary, other publications. In order to develop the ideological depth and theoretical knowledge of its members, several educational and training programmes have been carried out by COPWE especially

at the Yekatit '66 Political School and in collaboration with socialist countries.

In the field of foreign relations too, the evergrowing unity and cooperation with various parties and organizations on the basis of proletarian internationalism and solidarity are to be highly regarded.

During its period of activity prior to the Party Founding Congress, COPWE held two congresses, eight regular and one extraordinary Central Committee meetings and provided appropriate leadership by taking crucial decisions and issuing directives.

The conditions having been fulfilled due to the strategy followed by COPWE and the tasks accomplished by it for the realization of its objectives, the historic Party Founding Congress was held and the realization of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia officially affirmed. The Programme, Rules, organizational structure and working principles of the WPE reflect the objective conditions of Ethiopia and are based on the organizational and working principles of a Marxist-Leninist Party of the New Type.

The struggle waged in the course of our Revolution for attaining the leadership of a vanguard Party, and especially the foundation laid by COPWE has created favourable conditions for the strengthening of its social base and for the practical implementation of its policies. Even though, on this basis, a growth in consciousness and wide political and organizational experience have been acquired during the revolutionary process, it is clear that since the society we inherited is found at a low stage of development and since this problem has not yet been fully liquidated, it can have an impact on the Party.

The Workers' Party of Ethiopia, guided by Marxism Leninism, struggles for the completion of the National Democratic Revolution, the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat

and for the building of socialism. Therefore, since the responsibility entrusted to the WPE is of a qualitatively higher order, it is obvious that it must make considerable effort to prove its capability. Accordingly, it will perform on a priority basis tasks which will enable it to develop a healthy inner-party life, to advance the penetration of scientific ideology among its members and within the society, and to enrich its relationship with and leadership of the working people in general and the working class in particular, by giving priority to tasks which will enable it to be equal to what is expected of it.

Since the foundation for a correct and strong party leadership is the recruitment of competent members into the Party, the WPE will, with great care, admit into the Party considerable numbers especially of the working class engaged in material production, members of producers' co-operatives, members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, intellectuals and office employees who excel in being exemplary in ideological strength and in their contributions. On this basis it will advance by reinforcing the experience of veterans with new and fresh members. Even though the basis for the strength of party members is their background, giving them ideological and professional training is necessary to prepare them for their new organizational life and responsibilities; therefore this will be conducted at various levels. Together with this the Party, on the basis of an appropriate policy of recruitment, evaluation, assignment, promotion and transfer, will create suitable conditions for cadres to make the contributions expected of them.

The WPE will give considerable attention to developing the maturity of its members in terms of discipline, competence and style of work, to enabling them to discharge individual responsibility while strictly following collective leadership, to enabling them to practice criticism and self-criticism, to helping them develop comradely relations among themselves and in short, to enabling them to develop the style of work of democratic centralism. Likewise, in order to safeguard its ideological and orga-

nizational unity, and to make its strength lasting, it will spare nothing to ensure that dogmatism, revisionism, factionalism and other similar destructive anti-Marxist-Leninist tendencies have no place in it, and in speedily eliminating them when they arise.

In order to adequately discharge its historic responsibility of providing central leadership for the establishment and operation of the new order in Ethiopia, the WPE will take sustained measures to strengthen the performance and correct practical work of the state and mass organizations, which are integral parts of the new political system. Internationally, based on the principle of proletarian internationalism, the WPE will make its due contribution by resolutely standing for the struggle for peace, democracy, social development and socialism by forging and intensifying its unity with communist and workers' parties and by establishing and strengthening its relations with other revolutionary and progressive forces.

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